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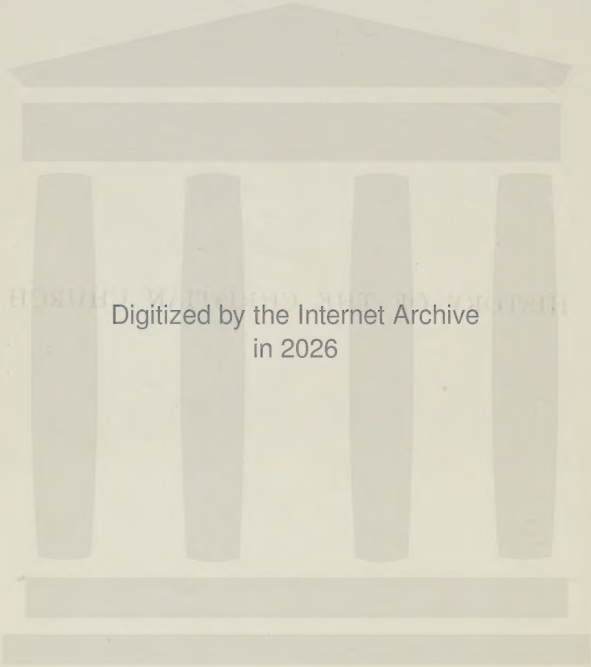

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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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OF THE

CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 30–1517.

BY JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M.A.,

LATE CANON OF CANTERBURY;

AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.—VOL. IV.

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1874.

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LIST OF POPES AND SOVEREIGNS.

Popes of Rome. (From Jaffé's *Regesta.*)

(The names in brackets are those of anti-popes.)

A.D.		A.D.
885.	Stephen V.	891
891.	Formosus	896
896.	Boniface VI. (May-June)	
——	Stephen VI.	897
897.	Romanus (July-Nov.)	
——	Theodore II. (Nov.-Dec.)	
898.	John IX.	900
900.	Benedict IV.	903
903.	Leo. V. (Aug.-Sept.)	
——	Christopher.	904
904.	Sergius III.	911
911.	Anastasius III.	913
913.	Lando.	914
914.	John X.	928
928.	Leo VI.	929
929.	Stephen VII.	931
931.	John XI.	936
936.	Leo VII.	939
939.	Stephen VIII.	942
942.	Marinus II.	946
946.	Agapetus II.	955
955.	John XII.	963
963.	Leo VIII.	965
	[Benedict V. May-June 964.]	
965.	John XIII.	972
972.	Benedict VI.	974
	[Boniface VII. July-Aug. 974.]	
974.	Benedict VII.	983
983.	John XIV.	984
	[Boniface VII. again 984-5.]	

A.D.		A.D.
985.	John XV.	996
996.	Gregory V.	999
	[John XVI. 997-8.]	
999.	Sylvester II.	1003
1003.	John XVI. (Jan. 13-Dec. 7).	
——	John XVII.	1009
1009.	Sergius IV.	1012
1012.	Benedict VIII.	1024
	[Gregory, Jan.-Dec. 1012.]	
1024.	John XVIII.	1033
1033.	Benedict IX.	1046
	[Sylvester III. 1044-6.]	
1045.	Gregory VI.	1046
1046.	Clement II.	1047
1047.	Damasus II.	1048
1048.	Leo IX.	1054
1054.	Victor II.	1057
1057.	Stephen IX.	1058
	[Benedict X. 1058-9.]	
1059.	Nicolas II.	1061
1061.	Alexander II.	1073
	[Honorius II. 1061-9.]	
1073.	Gregory VII.	1085
	[Clement III. 1080-1100.]	
1086.	Victor III.	1087
1088.	Urban II.	1099
1099.	Paschal II.	1118
	[Theodoric, 1100.]	
	[Albert, 1102.]	
	[Sylvester IV. 1105-1111.]	

Eastern Emperors.

A.D.		A.D.
886.	Leo VI. (the Philosopher)	911
911 to 959.	Alexander	912
	Constantine VII. (Porphyrogenitus—alone from 945)	959
	Romanus I. (Lecapenus)	945
	919. (Christopher, Stephen, Constantine VIII.)	
959.	Romanus II.	963
963.	Nicephorus Phocas	969
969.	John Tzimisces	976
976.	Basil II.	1025
	Constantine IX.	1028
1028.	Romanus III. (Argyrus)	1034
1034.	Michael IV. (the Paphlagonian)	1041
1041.	Michael V. (Calaphates)	1042
1042 to 1056.	Zoe.	
	Constantine X. (Monomachus)	1054
	Theodora (alone from 1054)	1056
1056.	Michael VI. (Stratioticus	1057
1057.	Isaac Comnenus	1059
1059.	Constantine XII. (Ducas)	1067
1067.	Eudocia	1071
	Romanus IV. (Diogenes)	
1071.	Michael VII. (Parapinaces)	1078
	Andronicus I.	
	Constantine XII.	
1078.	Nicephorus III. (Botoniates)	1081
1081.	Alexius I. (Comnenus)	1118

Western Emperors.

(The date in the first column is that of succession to the kingdom of Germany; that in the second, of the Imperial Coronation.)

887	896.	Arnulf	899
	891.	Guy	Titular Emperors.
	894.	Lambert	
	901.	Lewis of Provence	
	916.	Berengar	
912		Conrad I. 920	Kings of Germany.
920		Henry I. (the Fowler) 936	
936	962.	Otho I.	973
973	967.	Otho II.	983
983	996.	Otho III.	1002
1002	1014.	Henry II.	1024
1024	1027.	Conrad II.	1039
1039	1046.	Henry III.	1056
1056	1084.	Henry IV.	1106
1106	1111.	Henry V.	1125

Kings of France.

A.D.		A.D.
888.	Odo or Eudes	898
898.	Charles III. (the Simple)	936
946.	Lewis IV. (d'Outre-mer)	954
954.	Lothair	986
986.	Lewis V. (le Fainéant)	987
987.	Hugh Capet	996
996.	Robert I.	1031
1031.	Henry I.	1060
1060.	Philip I.	1108

Kings of England.

871.	Alfred	901
901.	Edward the Elder	924
924.	Athelstan	941
941.	Edmund	946
946.	Edred	955
955.	Edwy	959
959.	Edgar	975
975.	Edward the Martyr	978
978.	Ethelred II. (the Unready)	1016
1016.	Edmund Ironside	1016
1016.	Canute	1035
1035.	Harold (Harefoot)	1039
1039.	Hardicanute	1042
1042.	Edward the Confessor	1066
1066.	Harold	1066
1066.	William I. (the Conqueror)	1087
1087.	William II. (Rufus)	1100
100.	Henry I.	1135

HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

BOOK V. (CONTINUED).

FROM THE DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE TO THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI., A.D. 814-1046.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF CHARLES THE FAT TO THE DEATH OF POPE SYLVESTER II.

A.D. 887-1003.

WE now for the first time meet with a long period—including the whole of the tenth century—undisturbed by theological controversy. But we must not on this account suppose that it was an era of prosperity or happiness for the church. Never, perhaps, was there a time of greater misery for most of the European nations; never was there one so sad and so discreditable for religion. The immediate necessities which pressed on men diverted their minds from study and speculation. The clergy in general sank into the grossest ignorance

and disorder,[a] although an improvement may be traced among them from the time of Otho I.;[b] the papacy was disgraced by infamies of which there had been no example in former days.

Soon after the beginning of this period the Byzantine church was agitated by a question which also tended to increase its differences with Rome. Leo the Philosopher, the pupil of Photius, after having had three wives who had left him without offspring, married Zoe, with whom he had for some time cohabited.[c] According to the Greek historians, the union was celebrated by one of the imperial chaplains before the birth of a child; and, when Leo had become father of an heir, he raised Zoe to the rank of empress. The marriage would, in any circumstances, have been scandalous, for even second marriages had been discountenanced by the church, and a fourth marriage was hitherto unknown in the east. The patriarch Nicolas, therefore, deposed the priest who had blessed the nuptials; he refused to admit the imperial pair into the church, so that they were obliged to perform their devotions elsewhere; and he refused to administer the eucharist to Leo, who thereupon banished him to the island of Hiereia.[d] The account given by the patriarch himself is somewhat different—that the son of Leo and Zoe was born before their marriage; that he consented to baptize the child only on condition of a separation between the parents; that Leo swore to comply, but within three days after introduced Zoe into the palace with great pomp, went through the ceremony of marriage without the intervention of any priest, and followed it up by the coronation

A.D. 905.

[a] Mabill. Annal. iii. 311; Hist. Litt. vi. 2; Giesel. II. i. 264.

[b] Giesebr. i. 328.

[c] Cedren. 600.

[d] See the Continuation of Theophanes, pp. 370-1, ed. Bonn; Sym. Magist. de Leone, 18; Cedrenus, 600-2, and the other writers quoted by Baronius, 901. 2, seqq., and by Pagi in his notes.

of his wife. Nicolas adds that he entreated the emperor to consent to a separation until the other chief sees should be consulted, but that some legates from Rome, who soon after arrived at Constantinople, countenanced the marriage, and that thus Leo was emboldened to deprive and to banish him.[e] Euthymius, an ecclesiastic of high character, who was raised to the patriarchate, restored the emperor to communion, but resisted his wish to obtain a general sanction of fourth marriages, although it was supported by many persons of consideration.[f] On the death of Leo, his brother A.D. 911. Alexander, who succeeded together with the young son of Zoe, Constantine Porphyrogenitus,[g] not only restored Nicolas, but gave him an important share in the government, while Euthymius on his deposition was treated with barbarous outrage by the clergy of the opposite party, and soon after died.[h] Alexander himself died within a year, when Zoe became powerful in the regency, and urged her son to insist on the acknowledgment of her marriage.[i] But she was shut up in a convent by Romanus Lecapenus, who assumed the government as the colleague of Constantine, and in 920 the rival parties in the church were reconciled. An edict was published by which, for the future, third marriages were allowed on certain conditions, but such unions as that of which the emperor himself was the offspring were prohibited on pain of excommunication.[k] At Rome, however, fourth marriages were allowed,[l] and on this account an additional coolness

[e] Nic. Ep. ad Anastas. Roman., A.D. 912, ap. Baron. 912. 6. Mr. Finlay follows this account (ii. 312). See Acta SS., Mai. 15, p. 507.

[f] Ἑλλογίμων. Cedren. 602. Symeon Magister's word is λογικωτάτων, which is rendered *eruditissimi* (c. 19). He says that the lawfulness of "tetragamy" was believed to have been revealed to Euthymius. ib.

[g] This epithet seems inconsistent with the statement that the prince was born before the marriage.

[h] Theoph Contin. 378; Cedren. 607.

[i] Cedren. 611.

[k] Theoph. Contin. 397; Cedren. 607; Pagi, xv. 602; Schröckh, xxi. 436; Gibbon, iv. 428-9.

[l] A Roman penitential of the ninth century prescribes a fast of three weeks

arose between the churches, so that for a time the names of the popes appear to have been omitted from the diptychs of Constantinople.[m]

The Greek church continued to rest on the doctrines and practices established by the councils of former times. The worship of images was undisturbed. The empire underwent frequent revolutions, marked by the perfidy, the cruelty, the ambition regardless of the ties of nature, with which its history has already made us too familiar;[n] but the only events which need be here mentioned are the victories gained over the Saracens by Nicephorus Phocas (A.D. 963-969) and by his murderer and successor John Tzimisces (A.D. 969-976). By these princes Crete and Cyprus were recovered, and the arms of the Greeks were carried even as far as Bagdad. And, although their more distant triumphs had no lasting effect, the empire retained some recompense for its long and bloody warfare in the possession of Antioch, with Tarsus, Mopsuestia, and other cities in Cilicia.[o]

In the west, the age was full of complicated movements, which it is for the most part most difficult to trace, and impossible to remember. After the deposition of Charles the Fat, the only representatives of the Carolingian line were illegitimate—Arnulf, a son of the Bavarian Carloman, and Charles, styled the Simple, the offspring of Louis the Stammerer by a marriage to which the church refused its sanction. Arnulf assumed the government of Germany, which he held from 887 to 899. He ruled with vigour, carried on successful wars with the Obotrites

for third marriage, and of twenty-one for fourth or fifth marriage. Patrol. cv. 725.

[m] Schröckh, xxii. 209. Eugenius IV., after his negotiations for union with the Greek and Oriental churches, condemned the condemnation of fourth marriage. Raynald. 1442. 6.

[n] G. Hamart. Contin. 861, 865. See Gibbon, c. 48.

[o] Ib. iv. 224-8.

and other Slavonic nations of the north, and broke the terror of the Northmen by a great overthrow on the Dyle, near Louvain, in 891.[p] He also weakened the power of the Moravians; but in order to this he called in the aid of the Hungarians or Magyars, and opened a way into Germany to these formidable barbarians.[q] A.D. 892. No such savage enemy of Christendom had yet appeared.[r] They were a people of Asiatic origin, whose language, of the same stock with the Finnish,[s] bore no likeness to that of any civilized or Christian nation. The writers of the time, partly borrowing from the old descriptions of Attila's Huns,[t] with whom the Magyars were fancifully connected, speak of them as monstrous and hardly human in form, as living after the manner of beasts, as eating the flesh and drinking the blood of men, the heart being particularly esteemed as a delicacy. Light in figure and accoutrements, and mounted on small, active horses, they defied the pursuit of the Frankish cavalry, while even in retreat their showers of arrows were terrible.[u] They had already established themselves in the territory on the Danube which for some centuries had been occupied by the Avars. They had threatened Constantinople, and had laid both the eastern empire and the Bulgarians under contribution.[x] They now passed into Germany in seemingly inexhaustible multitudes, overran Thuringia and Franconia, and advanced as far as the Rhine.

[p] Schmidt, i. 525-33; Luden, vi. 239.

[q] Liutprand, 'Antapodosis,' i. 13, ap. Pertz, iii.; Schmidt, i. 526; Am. Thierry, 'Hist. d'Attila,' ii. 218-21. Luden disbelieves this (vi. 248); but see Palacky, i. 148.

[r] Luden, vi. 298-9; Milman, ii. 369.

[s] Milman, n. on Gibbon, v. 296. This seems, however, to be disputed. See Mrs. Busk, i. 395-6.

[t] See Ammian. Marcellin. xxxi. 2; Jornandes, c. 24. (Patrol. lxix.)

[u] Regino, A.D. 889 (Pertz, i., or Patrol. cxxxii.). See Gibbon, v. 294-8; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 25; Giesebrecht, i. 161, seqq.; Mailáth, i. 15. There is a curious letter about the Hungarians in D'Achery, Spicil. iii. 368-70.

[x] Gibbon, v. 301

Almost at the same moment the northern city of Bremen[y] was sacked by one division of their forces, and the Swiss monastery of St. Gall[z] by another. A swarm of them laid Provence desolate, and penetrated to the Spanish frontier, although a sickness which broke out among them enabled Raymond, marquis of Gothia, to repel them.[a] Crossing the Alps, they rushed down on Italy. Pavia, the Lombard capital, and then the second city of the peninsula, was given to the flames, with its forty-four churches, while the Magyars glutted their cruelty and love of plunder on the persons and on the property of the inhabitants.[b] The invaders made their way even to the extremity of Calabria, while the Italians, regarding them as a scourge of God, submitted without any other attempt at defence than the prayers with which their churches resounded for deliverance "from the arrows of the Hungarians."[c]

A.D. 924.

The Saracens also continued to afflict Italy. A force of them from Africa established itself on the Garigliano (the ancient Liris), and from its fortified camp continually menaced Rome.[d] In another quarter, a vessel with about twenty Saracens from Spain was carried out of its course by winds, and compelled to put to land near Fraxinetum.[e] They fortified themselves against the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, and, after having subsisted for a time on plunder, they invited others from

[y] Adam. Brem. i. 54.

[z] Annal. Wirziburg. A.D. 938 (Pertz, ii.). Cf. Ekkehard, jun. ib. 105, seqq.

[a] Liutprand, Antapod. ii. 15; Chron. Augiense, ap. Baluz. Miscell. i. 499-500; Gibbon, v. 298-9; Sismondi, iii. 367; Mailáth, i. 9, and Append. 2-4.

[b] Flodoard, Annal. 924, ap. Pertz, iii.; Mailáth, i. 13.

[c] Annal. Fuld. A.D. 897, 900, etc. (Pertz, i.); Gibbon, v. 300-1; Mailáth, i. 17.

[d] Liutprand, ii. 44; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 243.

[e] This place is generally identified with Frainet, near Fréjus (Chron. Novaliciense, ap. Pertz, vii. 108; Pagi, xv. 608; Bouquet; Pertz, iii. 275). But some writers think that it was in the peninsula of S. Ospizio, near Nice. See Gallenga's Hist. of Piedmont, Lond. 1855, i. 149. Spruner, in his second map of Italy, gives the name in both places, but distinguishes that near Nice as "Fraxinetum Saracenorum."

Spain to join them, so that the handful of shipwrecked strangers was gradually recruited until it became a formidable band. They carried on their ravages far and wide, built many forts among the mountains, seized on pilgrims and traders, stripped them of all that they had, and compelled those who were able to raise large sums by way of ransom.[f] Some of them even crossed the Mount of Jupiter (now the Great St. Bernard) and established another settlement at St. Maurice.[g] But the garrison of Fraxinetum was at length surrounded and exterminated by William, duke of Aquitaine.[h]

After the death of Arnulf, the Germans were broken up into five principal nations—the Franconians, the Saxons, the Swabians, the Bavarians, and the Lotharingians of the debatable land between France and Germany, which was sometimes attached to the one country and sometimes to the other—being either transferred by its inhabitants, or annexed by force or by intrigue. These nations were generally under the government of dukes;[i] the fear of the Magyars and of the Slaves was the bond which united them in one common interest. Otho of Saxony was regarded as their leader; but as he felt himself too old to undertake the labours of royalty, Conrad of Franconia was with his consent elected king of Germany in 912. Conrad found Henry,[k] the son of Otho and duke of Saxony, his chief opponent; but on

[f] See the account of their taking Majolus, abbot of Cluny. Radulph. Glaber, l. i. A.D. 972, ap. Bouquet, x.; Vita S. Majoli, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 778; Giesebr. i. 353.

[g] Liutprand, i. 2-4; ii. 43; v. 9, seqq.; Pagi, xv. 608; Sismondi, Hist. des Fr. iii. 415. The chronicle of Vézelay, written by Hugh of Poitiers in the latter half of the twelfth century, states that the monastery founded by Count Gerard, in the reign of Charles the Bald, was removed by him to the hill of Vézelay, in consequence of the "infestations of Saracens" (Patrol. cxciv. 1592.) But is there any evidence of their having penetrated so far into France? Or is not the word "Saracen" here, as in many other places, used in the general sense of *heathens*, to denote the Northmen?

[h] Rad. Glaber, l. i. A.D. 972; Pagi, xvi. 216.

[i] Giesebr. i. 179, seqq.

[k] Ib. i. 191.

his death-bed, in 919, a desire to prevent discord among the Germans prevailed over all other feelings, and he charged his brother Eberhard, who himself might fairly have claimed the succession, to carry to Henry the ensigns of royalty—the holy lance, the crown and mantle, the golden bracelets and the sword.[l] In compliance with Conrad's wish, Henry "the Fowler" (so styled from the occupation in which he is said to have been engaged when the announcement of his intended dignity reached him)[m] was elected king by the Franconians and Saxons, and the other nations accepted the choice. Henry reigned from 920 to 936, with a reputation seldom equalled for bravery, prudence, moderation, justice, and fidelity.[n] He recovered Lotharingia for Germany, triumphed over the northern Slaves and the Bohemians, took from the Northmen the country between the Eider and the Schley, and erected the marquisate of Sleswick as a bulwark for the security of Germany on that side.[o] But still more important were his wars with the Hungarians. On an expedition which was marked by their usual barbarous ravages, one of their most important chiefs—perhaps, as has been conjectured, the king himself—fell into the hands of Henry, who refused to release him except on condition of peace, for which it was agreed that the Germans should pay gifts by way of annual acknowledgment.[p] The peace was to last nine years, which Henry employed in preparations for war; and, on its expiration, he returned a scornful defiance to an embassy of the Magyars. He twice defeated the barbarians;[q]

A.D. 924.

A.D. 933.

[l] Widukind, i. 25, ap. Pertz, iii.; Ekkehard, A.D. 918, ap. Bouquet, ix. 4; Luden, vi. 342; Giesebr. i. 204-5.

[m] Annal. Palidenses, ap. Pertz, xvi. 61; Godefr. Viterb., Pantheon, 17 (Patrol. cxcviii. 956.) The story is probably a fable. Giesebr. i. 206.

[n] Schmidt, ii. 25; Luden, vi. 365, 394.

[o] Schmidt, ii. 23; Luden, vi. 358, 359, seqq.

[p] Widukind, i. 30, ap. Pertz, iii.; Luden, vi. 360, 617; Mailáth, i. 17.

[q] Annal. Palid. ap. Pertz, xvi. 61, Luden, vi. 387.

and in 955 their power was finally broken by his son Otho the First, in the great battle of the Lechfeld, near Augsburg.[r] By this defeat the Hungarians lost that part of their territory which may be identified with the modern province of Austria, and were reduced to the limits of Pannonia.[s]

On the deposition of Charles the Fat, Odo or Eudes, count of Paris, and son of Robert the Strong,[t] assumed the royal title in France, and held it for ten years, during which he kept up a continual and sometimes successful struggle against the Northmen.[u] At his death, in 898, Charles the Simple, who had in vain attempted to assert his title against Odo, became his successor; and the illegitimate continuation of the Carolingian line lasted (although not without interruption) until 987, when, on the death of Lewis V., Hugh Capet, duke of France, a great-nephew of Odo, was elected by an assembly at Senlis, hailed as king by the army at Noyon, and anointed by Adalbero, archbishop of Reims, whose possession of that city gave him the chief influence in disposing of the crown.[x] But the royalty of France was little more than nominal. The power of Odo at first reached only from the Meuse to the Loire;[y] the later Carolingians possessed little more than the rock of Laon, while the real sovereignty of the country was in the hands of the great feudatories, whose power had now become hereditary.[z] At the end of the ninth century France was divided into twenty-nine distinct principalities; at the accession of Hugh Capet, the number, exclusive of the independent kingdom of Arles, had increased to fifty-five, and some of these were larger than his own dominions.[a] Hugh,

[r] Widuk. iii. 44-9; Luden, vii. 56.

[s] Gibbon, v. 302-3.

[t] See p. 332.

[u] Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. i. 640, *seqq.*

[x] Flodoard, Hist. Rem. ii. 19, fin.; Sismondi, iii. 498; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 35; Palgrave, ii. 871-5.

[y] Sismondi, iii. 294.

[z] Hallam, M. A. i. 15, 19-21. See vol. ii. of Sir F. Palgrave's 'Normandy and England.'

[a] See a list in Guizot, ii. 282; Sismondi, iv. 43.

indeed, for the title of king, and for the hope that the royal power might in time become a reality, even sacrificed something of his former strength, by giving up the benefices which he had held to the clergy, and by bestowing fiefs on the nobles.[b] Fortresses multiplied throughout the land; raised originally during the Norman invasions for the purposes of defence and security, they had become dangerous to the royal power and oppressive to the people.[c] Charles the Bald, at the diet of Pistres, in 864, had forbidden the erection of such strongholds, and had ordered that those which existed should be demolished;[d] but after the dismemberment of the kingdom there was no power which could enforce this law. The nobles everywhere raised their castles, and surrounded themselves with troops of soldiers; and the effects were soon visible both for evil and for good. The martial spirit, which had decayed from the time of Lewis the Pious, revived; the dukes and counts, each with an army of his own, encountered the Northmen in fight, or turned against each other in private war the strength which they had gained by the degradation of the crown. And both in France and in Italy the lords of castles betook themselves to plunder, as an occupation which involved nothing discreditable or unworthy of their position.[e]

Notwithstanding the victories of Odo and of Arnulf, the Northmen for a time continued to infest France in all quarters—penetrating even to the very heart of the country.[f] In 911, Charles the Simple, by the treaty of St. Clair on the Epte, ceded to them the territory between that river and the sea, together with Brittany, and bestowed his daughter Gisella on their leader, Rollo, on condition of his doing homage and embracing the

[b] Martin, iii. 31. [c] Guizot, iii. 80. [c] Pertz, Leges, i. 499. [e] Schmidt, ii. 2; Sismondi, iii. 282-5, 373-4, 399. [f] Palgrave, i. 649, 650.

Christian faith.[g] In the following year Rollo was baptized at Rouen by the name of Robert,[h] when, on each of the seven days during which he wore the baptismal garment, he bestowed lands on some church or monastery, as a compensation for the evils which they had suffered at the hands of his countrymen.[i] Ignominious as the cession to the Northmen may appear, it had a precedent in that which the great Alfred had made after victory. The French king lost nothing by it, since the part of Neustria which was given up was actually in possession of the invaders; while, by professing to include Brittany in the gift, he may have hoped to turn the arms of his new liegemen against a population which had already established itself in independence.[k] And in the result, the admission of the Northmen was speedily justified. They settled down in their new possessions; they laid aside their barbarous manners, and, under the teaching provided by the care of Hervé, archbishop of Reims[l] (who, at the request of the archbishop of Rouen, drew up regulations for the treatment of them), their paganism was soon extirpated. They married wives of the country; in two generations the Norse tongue had disappeared, and it was among the offspring of the Scandinavian pirates that French for the first time took the rank of a cultivated and polished language.[m] The country, which had long been desolated by their ravages, recovered its fertility; churches and monasteries rose

[g] Dudo, l. iii. (Patrol. cxli. 648); Guil. Gemet. ii. 17 (ib. cxlix.). The Norman dominions were afterwards extended. Lappenb. ii. 15; Palgrave, ii.

[h] It has been suspected that this was not his first baptism. See Palgrave, i. 664.

[i] Dudo, pp. 651-2; Guil. Gemet. ii. 18. It would seem that these donations were but imperfectly carried into effect. Palgrave, ii. 264.

[k] Bouquet, ix. 87; Hallam, M. A. i. 19, and Suppl. Notes, 44; Sismondi, iii. 328; Depping, ii. 108-15.

[l] Richer, ii. 32, ap. Pertz, iii.; Flodoard, iv. 14; Joh. ix. Ep. i. (Patrol. cxxxi.).

[m] Sismondi, iii. 333, 334; Heeren, 'Einfluss der Normannen auf französ. Litteratur' (Histor. Werke, ii. 368-9); Thierry, Conq. d'Angleterre, i. 179.

again out of ruins; strangers of ability and skill in all kinds of arts were encouraged to settle in Normandy; and in no long time it became the most advanced province of France as to orderly government, industry, and literature.[n]

Italy suffered severely during this period, not only from the attacks of the Hungarians and of the Saracens, but from the contests of its own princes.[o] On the deposition of Charles the Fat, the Italians were unwilling to acknowledge a foreign ruler. Guy, duke of Spoleto, and Berengar, duke of Friuli, both connected through females with the Carolingian family, contended for the kingdom of Italy, and for the imperial crown, which was conferred on each of them by popes.[p] Arnulf of Germany (A.D 896) and other princes were also crowned at Rome as emperors; but the first revival of the empire as a reality was in the person of the German Otho the Great (A.D. 961), from whom the dignity was transmitted to his son and to his grandson of the same name. Yet Otho's imperial power was very unlike that of Charlemagne: the one had been a sovereign, the other was only the head of a confederation of states. The Italian and German kingdoms were united in the Othos, and this subjection of Italy to a distant sovereign produced an effect important for its later history. The inhabitants of the towns, who had already been obliged to fortify themselves with walls and to organize a militia for defence against the Saracen and Hungarian invaders, now found that they were thrown still more on their own resources. Each city, consequently, isolated itself, contracted its interests within its own immediate sphere, and established a magistracy on the ancient model—the germ of the mediæval Italian republics.[q]

[n] Sismondi, iii. 336; Turner's 'Middle Ages,' i. 71-2; Palgrave, i. 705-7; Macaulay, Hist. Eng. i. 11.

[o] Giesebr. i. 491-2.

[p] Schmidt, i. 523-9; Palgrave, i. 629.

[q] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 26, 36, 67-9—who, however, has antedated the

The clergy and monks shared largely in the calamities of the age. In all the kingdoms which had belonged to the Carolingian monarchy, it was usual for princes to take for themselves, or to assign to their favourites, the temporalities of religious houses. Queens and other ladies enjoyed the revenues of the greater monasteries, without being supposed to contract any obligation to duty on that account.[r] In many instances the impropriation of benefices passed as an inheritance in noble families. Great lords seized on bishopricks, gave them to their relatives, or even disposed of them to the highest bidder. In 990 a count of Toulouse sold the see of Cahors, and about the same time a viscount of Beziers bequeathed the bishopricks of that city and of Agde as portions to his daughters.[s] Sometimes mere children were appointed to sees. Thus, in 925, on the death of Seulf of Reims, Herbert, count of Vermandois, who was even suspected of having shortened the archbishop's days by poison,[t] seized the temporalities for himself, and compelled the clergy and people to elect his son Hugh, a child not yet five years old. The election was confirmed by king Rodolph and by pope John X., and the boy prelate was committed to Guy, bishop of Auxerre, for education, while a bishop was appointed to administer the see.[u] In 932, on a political change which threw the possession of Reims into the hands of another party, a monk named Artald was nominated as archbishop, received consecration, and was invested with the pall by John XI.; but

full effect of this. See Hallam, M.A. i. 228; and Savigny, i. 412, seqq., who supposes the Roman form of government to have been preserved from ancient times.

[r] Ducange, s. v. *Abbas*, p. 11; Sismondi, iii. 444. In an earlier time, Remigius, a brother of King Pipin, gave the monastery of Bèze, near Dijon, to an Englishwoman, the wife of one Theodard, "quia ejus stupro potitus fuerat." Chron. Besuense Patrol. clxii. 871.

[s] Sismondi, iv. 89.

[t] Artald. ap. Flodoard. iv. 35. "Seulfus episcopus, ut plures asserunt, ab Heriberti familiaribus veneno potatus defungitur." Cf. Flod. iv. 19.

[u] Ib. 20; Richer, i. 55 (Pertz, iii.).

Hugh, on attaining manhood, asserted his title, gained possession of Reims by means of his father's troops, and was consecrated to the archbishoprick.[x] The contest was carried on for many years; for Artald, as well as Hugh, was a man of family, was supported by stout retainers, and was backed by political power. At one time Artald would seem to have given up his pretensions on condition that he should be provided for by the immediate gift of an abbey, and by the promise of another see; but he was afterwards reinstated by Louis d'Outremer, and the question as to the archbishoprick of Reims was discussed by councils at Verdun and at Mousson, at Ingelheim, Laon, and Treves. Hugh disregarded all citations to appear; but at Mousson and at Ingelheim, where two legates of Agapetus II. were present, a rescript bearing the pope's name was produced in his behalf. The councils, however, set aside this document, as being a mere peremptory mandate for the restoration of Hugh, obtained by false representations, and unsupported by argument or by canonical authority. Artald exhibited a papal letter of opposite tenor; and the council sentenced his rival to excommunication until he should repent.[y] Artald held possession of the see until his death, in 961, and Hugh, who hoped then to enter on it without opposition, found himself defeated by the influence of Bruno archbishop of Cologne,[z] brother of

[x] Flod. iv. 24, 27-8; Richer, ii. 23-5.

[y] Flod. Hist. iv. 34-7; Annal. 948, seqq.; Conc. Ingilheim. A.D. 948, ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. 21; Richer, ii. 66-82. Sir F. Palgrave, who gives a full account of the contest, speaks of the rescript in Hugh's favour as a manifest forgery, and as so regarded by the council of Ingelheim (ii. 594). But Flodoard (iv. 34-5) and Richer (ii. 69, 78-80) do not appear to warrant any stronger statement than that given in the text. The legates did not deny the genuineness of the document; and Hugh's representative was deposed from the diaconate, not as having forged the papal letter, but as having slandered certain bishops whose names he had used in his application to the pope.

[z] See the Acta SS., Oct. 11; Giesebr. i. 321, seqq

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Otho the Great, and of Gerberga, queen dowager of France, through whom Bruno virtually exercised the regency of the kingdom. It is said that Hugh died of anxiety and vexation.[a]

But the condition of the papacy is the most remarkable feature in the history of this time. From the beginning to the end of the period, it is the subject of violent contests between rival factions. Formosus, bishop of Portus, who had been employed by Nicolas as legate in Bulgaria, was charged by John VIII. with having used his position to bind the king of that country to himself, instead of to the Roman see; with having attempted to obtain the popedom, and having entered into a conspiracy against both the pope and Charles the Bald.[b] For these offences he was excommunicated by a synod at Rome, and by that which was held under John at Troyes,[c] and was compelled to swear that he would never return to Rome, or aspire to any other than lay communion. The next pope, Marinus, released him both from the excommunication and from his oath;[d] and Formosus was raised in 891 to the papacy, which he held for five years. His successor, Boniface VI., after a pontificate of fifteen days, made way for Stephen VI.,[e] who, in the contentions of the rival pretenders to the empire, had taken an opposite side to Formosus; and it would seem that this political enmity was the motive of the extraordinary outrages which followed. By Stephen's command, the body of Formosus was dragged from the

A.D. 878.

[a] Flod. Ann. 792; Richer, ii. 14-17.

[b] Joh. Ep. 111, ap. Hard. vi. See Pagi, xv. 291; Gregorov. iii. 195. Gfrörer (Karol. ii. 323) says that Formosus was an antipope in the German interest.

[c] Hard. vi. 193. See p. 412.

[d] Baron. 883. 1.

[e] Liutprand (Antap. i. 30) speaks of Boniface as having been driven out by Stephen, and is followed by Baronius (897. 1); but Flodoard says that he died in possession of the papacy (De Christi Triumphis, xii. 6, Patrol. cxxxv. 829), and the Annals of Fulda ascribe his death to gout (A.D. 895). See Murat. Ann. V. i. 295.

grave, was arrayed in robes, placed in the papal chair, and brought to trial on a charge of his having been uncanonically translated from a lesser see to Rome — a charge which, as there had already been a precedent for such translation in the case of Marinus, it was thought necessary to aggravate by the false addition that Formosus had submitted to a second consecration.[f] A deacon was assigned to the dead pope as advocate, but it was useless to attempt a defence. Formosus was condemned, the ordinations conferred by him were annulled, his corpse was stripped of the pontifical robes, the fingers used in benediction were cut off, and the body, after having been dragged about the city, was thrown into the Tiber.[g] But we are told that the river repeatedly cast it out, and, after the murder of Stephen, in 897, it was taken up and again laid in St. Peter's, where, as it was carried into the church, some statues of saints inclined towards it with reverence, in attestation of the sanctity of Formosus.[h] A synod held in the following year under John IX.[i] rescinded the con-

[f] Auxilius de ordinationibus Formosi, 26 (Patrol. cxxix.). Auxilius argues that even if Formosus had submitted to a new imposition of hands, it would have been only analogous to the consecration of a bishop, inasmuch as the priesthood and the episcopate are one order, and a priest on being consecrated receives but the "augmentum episcopalis ministerii" (*al.* mysterii). Marinus had been bishop of Cære (Oldoin. in Ciacon. i. 668; Mansi in Baron. xv. 382), and Photius had objected to him on account of his translation. See Stephan. V. Ep. 1 (Patrol. cxxix.); Hefele, iv. 469.

[g] Liutprand, Antap. i. 30; Hermann. Contract. A.D. 896 (Patrol. cxliii.); Baron. 897. 2. Liutprand represents the outrages upon the dead body of Formosus as having taken place under Sergius III. It has been commonly supposed that he mistook Sergius for Stephen (Baron. 897. 2); but Mr. Scudamore argues that Stephen had allowed the corpse to be reinterred, and that Sergius, with his party, again tore it from the grave, and cast it into the river. Thus Liutprand's error would be that of referring these acts to the papacy of Sergius, instead of to an earlier part of his life ('England and Rome,' 445-50, Lond. 1855; Cf. Ffoulkes, i. 42). It would seem, however, that Liutprand supposed Sergius to have been the immediate successor of Boniface VI.

[h] Luitprand, i. 31; Jaffé, 304.

[i] See Pagi, xv. 493-525. It is commonly placed in 904.

demnation of Formosus, and declared that his translation was justified by his merits, although it ought not to become a precedent. The same assembly stigmatized the proceedings of the council under Stephen, ordered the records of its acts to be burnt, and excommunicated those who had violated the tomb.[k]

A rapid succession of popes now took place. Elections are followed within a few months or weeks or days by deaths which excite suspicion as to their cause; in some cases violence or poison appears without disguise. With Sergius III., in 904, began the ascendency of a party which had attempted to seat him in St. Peter's chair after the death of Theodore II. in 897-8,[l] but had not then been strong enough to establish him. Its head was Adalbert, marquis of Tuscany, who was leagued with a noble and wealthy Roman widow named Theodora. Theodora had a daughter of the same name, and another named Mary or Marozia—both, like herself, beautiful and thoroughly depraved.[m] For upwards of fifty years these women disposed at will of the Roman see, which they filled with their paramours, their children, and their grandchildren.[n] Sergius, who held the papacy till 911, is described as a monster of rapacity, lust, and cruelty—as having lived in open concubinage with Marozia, and having abused the treasures of the church for the purpose of securing abettors and striking terror into enemies.[o]

[k] Hard. vi. 487, seqq. cc. 3, 4, 7, 9.

[l] Liutprand says that his unsuccessful attempt was made in rivalry to Formosus (i. 29). But this is a mistake, arising from the writer's idea that Sergius was (with the short interval of Boniface VI.) the next pope to Formosus. See Pagi, xv. 493, 535.

[m] Liutpr. Antap. ii. 48. See Gregorov. iii. 275-8, 280-3.

[n] Baronius argues that, when the papacy was filled by a succession of "homines monstruosi, vitâ turpissimi, moribus perditissimi, usquequaque fœdissimi," its continuance — unlike other governments, in which vice is followed by ruin—must be a token of especial Divine favour (879. 4; 900. 1-6; 908. 7; 912. 9-11). Dr. von Döllinger is content with saying that the papacy is not accountable for evils done while it was in bondage. i. 425.

[o] Planck, iii. 254-6. The principal authority for the history of the papacy during this time is Liutprand, bishop of Cremona, whose writings are printed

The next pope, Anastasius III., died in 913, and when the papacy again became vacant in the following year, by the death of Lando, the power of the "pornocracy" is said to have been scandalously displayed in the appointment of a successor. A young ecclesiastic of Ravenna, named John of Tossignano, when on a mission from his church to Rome, had attracted the notice of Theodora, had been invited to her embraces, and through her influence had been appointed to the bishoprick of Bologna. Before consecration he was advanced to the higher dignity of Ravenna, and, as she could not bear the separation from him, she now procured his elevation to St. Peter's chair.[p] Disgraceful as were the

A.D. 914.

in the third volume of Pertz's Monumenta. His chief work has the title of *Antapodosis, i.e.* Requital, having been written, as he says (iii. 1), with a view of at once avenging himself on Berengar and Willa, and repaying credit to those who had benefited his amily and himself. Liutprand's fidelity has been impugned, especially by Muratori, who charges him with "giving credit to all the pasquinades and defamatory libels of the times" (Annal. V. ii. 16, 36, 43, etc.). Dean Milman hesitates (ii. 376), Luden is unfavourable (vii. 484), and Liverani, in his 'Life of John X.' (Opere, t. ii. Macerata, 1859), is vehement in condemnation. But it seems to be generally thought that, with a strong disposition to satire, with furious hatreds and violent partialities, which he does not affect to conceal, and notwithstanding some mistakes, he is in the main trustworthy (see Schröckh, xxi. 168; xxii. 238; Planck, iii. 256; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 96; Pertz, iii. 268; Gieseler, II. i. 212; Köpke, de Vita et Scriptis Liudprandi, Berl. 1842, pp. 115-36; Gfrörer, iii. 1352; Giesebr. i. 779). Muratori (V. ii. 34) and Hefele (iv. 521) bring testimonies of a more honourable kind to the character of Sergius; but these, as Dean Milman remarks (l. c.), are not worth much. Mr. Scudamore ('England and Rome,' 435-75) has taken the trouble to dissect the Abbé Rohrbacher's defence of Sergius and other popes, and his charges against Liutprand. I shall not again advert to M. Rohrbacher, whose voluminous compilation — alike deficient in knowledge, judgment, veracity, and style—is only entitled to notice on account of the popularity which it seems to enjoy in the French church of the present day.

[p] Liutpr. ii. 48. Sir F. Palgrave (ii. 87) and Mr. Scudamore (468) suppose the younger Theodora to be meant, but Liutprand's words seem rather to point to the mother. Against this story there is the difficulty raised by Muratori (Annali, V. i. 44) that John appears to have held the see of Ravenna for nine years; but to this Köpke replies that, although John was archbishop in 905 and in 914, he did not hold the see throughout the interval, as one Theobald is mentioned as archbishop in 907 (p. 92). See Milman, ii. 377; Scudamore, 469. M. Duret, of Soleure, is said to have written a refutation of Liutprand's story, on the supposition that John

means by which his promotion had been earned, John X. showed himself an energetic, if not a saintly pope. He crowned Berengar as emperor—probably with a view of breaking the power of the nobles; he applied both to him and to the Greek emperor for aid against the Saracens; at the head of his own troops, with some furnished by Berengar, he marched against their camp on the Garigliano, and by the aid of St. Peter and St. Paul (as it is said), he obtained a victory which forced them to abandon that post of annoyance and terror to Rome.[q] But his spirit was probably too independent for the party which he was expected to serve, and they resolved to get rid of him. In 928, some adherents of Guy, duke of Tuscany, the second husband of Marozia, surprised the pope in the castle of St. Angelo; his brother Peter, who was particularly obnoxious to the faction, was murdered before his eyes, and John himself was either starved or suffocated within the fortress.[r]

John XI., who became pope in 931, is said by Liutprand[s] to have been a son of Marozia by pope Sergius, while others suppose him to have been the legitimate offspring of her marriage with Alberic, marquis of Camerino.[t] This pope was restricted to the performance of his ecclesiastical functions, while the government of Rome was swayed by Marozia's third husband, Hugh the Great, king of Arles, and afterwards by her son, the younger Alberic, who expelled his stepfather, and kept his mother and the pope prisoners in his palace.[u] For twenty-two years

was the *nephew* of Theodora. Hefele, iv. 553.

[q] Liutpr. ii. 49-54 (who calls the Saracens *Pœni*); Pagi, xv. 573.

[r] Liutpr. iii. 43. Benedict of Soracte represents Peter, whom he styles "marquis," as having brought the Hungarians into Italy. Patrol. cxxxix. 42. See Gregorov. iii. 300-1.

[s] ii. 48; iii. 43.

[t] See Murat. Annali, V. ii. 103; Hefele, iv. 350; Milman, ii. 382; Liverani, 537-8; Köpke, 88-90. Flodoard names only the mother (Hist. Rem. iv. 24). Neudecker (in Herzog, xiv. 284) says that this opinion arises out of a confusion between John XI. and John XII. in Leo of Ostia.

[u] This is Flodoard's account (iv. 24). But Liutprand (iii. 45) represents Ma-

Alberic, with the title of "prince and senator of all the Romans," exercised a tyrannical power, while the papal chair was filled by a succession of his creatures, whom he held in entire subjection.[x] On the death of Agapetus II., in 956, the Tuscan party considered that it would not be safe to entrust the papacy to any one who might divide its interest; and Octavian, son of Alberic, a youth of eighteen, who two years before had succeeded to his father's secular power, was advised to take the office for himself. Perhaps some such step had been contemplated by his father, as Octavian was already in ecclesiastical orders.[y] As pope he assumed the name of John XII.—this being the first instance of such a change; but his civil government was still carried on under his original name.[z]

A.D. 932?-954.

In 951 Otho the Great was invited into Italy by Adelaide, the young and beautiful widow of Lothair, the late titular sovereign of that country,[a] in order to deliver her from the persecutions of Berengar II.[b] He was hailed as king at Pavia, and there, during the festivities of Christmas, he married Adelaide, who accompanied him on his return to Germany.[c] Berengar submitted, made his peace, and was allowed to resume his power;

rozia as continuing to share in the power of her sons Alberic and John. (See Schröckh, xxii. 248.) Hugh was half-brother of the second husband, Guy. Giesebr. i. 365.

[x] Sismondi (Rép. Ital. i. 98-9) says that Alberic had the titles of consul and patrician. But it would seem that these were given to him by persons who had been accustomed to style their governors so, and that the titles in the text were those which he himself used. Gregorov. (iii. 318), who is very favourable to Alberic (ib. 323-6, 352-3).

[y] Flodoard, Annal. 954; Murat. Ann. V. ii. 185, 189; Luden, vii. 101. Perhaps, however, Octavian, at the time of entering into orders, may not have been regarded as his father's heir, as he may have then had a brother whose title was better, either in respect of age (as Baronius suggests, 955. 4), or of legitimacy; for Benedict of Soracte describes Octavian as the son of a concubine. Patrol. cxxxix. 41.

[z] See Murat. Ann. V. ii. 189; Gfrörer, iii. 1237.

[a] See 'L'Art de Vérifier les Dates,' vii. 292.

[b] Odilo, Epitaphium Adalheidæ, c. 3.

[c] Giesebr. i. 378.

but his renewed tyranny and aggressions pressed so heavily on the Italians, that, ten years after Otho's first intervention, the pope and many other persons of importance, both ecclesiastics and laity, again entreated the German king to come to their assistance. Otho accepted the invitation, and after having been crowned with great pomp at Monza as king of Italy, he proceeded onwards to Rome.[d] On the way he took an oath to defend the territory of St. Peter, and to uphold all the privileges of the pope;[e] and it has been said that he executed a charter, by which the donations of his predecessors to the Roman see were confirmed, with large additions, while the imperial right of ratifying the elections to the papacy was maintained.[f] At Rome, Otho received the imperial crown from the hands of the pope, and he exacted from him and the chief inhabitants an oath that they would never join with Berengar or with his son Adalbert.[g] Feb. 2, 962.

But no sooner had the emperor left Rome than John —perhaps in disgust at finding that Otho was determined to assert for himself something very different from the merely titular dignity to which the pope had hoped to limit him[h]—threw himself into the interest of Adalbert, who, on Otho's appearance in Italy, had sought a refuge among the Saracens of Fraxinetum. The emperor, on

[d] Liutprand, Hist. Ottonis, 1, seqq.; Luden, vii. 106-7. For the genuineness of the 'Historia Ottonis' (sometimes styled book vii. of the Antapodosis), which is questioned by Baronius (963. 3), see Schröckh, xxi. 169, 170.

[e] Pertz, Leges, ii. 29. See Gfrörer, iii. 1242; Hefele, iv. 578.

[f] This document is in Hardouin, vi. 623-6, and in Pertz, Leges, ii. Append. Some have altogether set it aside (as Schröckh, xxii. 262-5). Pertz (p. 163) thinks that it is a genuine compact, but that the donation is interpolated, and that it is otherwise altered as to form. Gieseler (II. i. 213) takes a similar view, while he thinks that it is rather the source of the *Ego Ludovicus* (see above, vol. ii. p. 276), than copied from it, as Schröckh supposed. Comp. Cenni, in Patrol. xcviii. 587; Schmidt, ii. 166-7; Planck, iii. 280-1; Luden, vii. 111; Gfrörer, iii. 1244; Palgrave, ii. 674; Hefele, iv. 580; Giesebr. i. 459; Gregorov. iii. 363-4.

[g] Liutpr. Hist. Ott. 3.

[h] Hefele, iv. 581

hearing of this, sent to inquire into the truth of the matter; the answer was a report that the pope lived in the most shameful debauchery, so that female pilgrims were even afraid to visit Rome, lest they should become the victims of his passions; that he scandalously neglected his duties of every kind; and that he had attached himself to Adalbert because he knew that the emperor would not countenance him in his disgraceful courses.[l] Otho remarked that the pope was but a boy, and would amend under the influence of good examples and advice; he attempted to negotiate with him,[k] and John promised to reform his way of life, but in the meantime received Adalbert with welcome into Rome.[l] The emperor returned to the city, and at his approach the pope and Adalbert fled, carrying off all that they could lay their hands on.

The Romans bound themselves by an oath never to choose a pope without the emperor's consent, and prayed for an investigation into the conduct of John.

Nov. 6, A.D. 963.

For this purpose a council of Italian, French, and German bishops was assembled at St. Peter's under the presidency of Otho, and in the presence of many lay nobles.[m] The emperor expressed surprise that John did not appear in order to defend himself. The Roman clergy, who all attended the meeting, were for condemning him at once; evidence, they said, was needless in the case of iniquities which were notorious even to Iberians, Babylonians, and Indians—the pope was no wolf in sheep's clothing, but one who showed his character without disguise; but Otho insisted on inquiry. Bishops and clergymen of the Roman province then deposed that the accused had been guilty of offences which are heaped together without any discrimination of their comparative

[l] Liutpr. 4.
[k] Ib. 5, 6.
[l] Ib. 7.
[m] Ib. 9.

magnitude. He had consecrated the eucharist without communicating; he had ordained in a stable, and at irregular times; he had sold episcopal ordination,—in one case to a boy of ten; his sacrilegious practices were notorious; he had been guilty of murder, of arson, of revolting cruelties,—of adultery, incest, and every kind of incontinence. He had cast off all the decencies of the ecclesiastical character; he had publicly hunted, and had dressed himself as a soldier, with sword, helmet, and cuirass; he had drunk wine "to the love of the devil"; he was in the habit, while gaming, of calling on Jupiter, Venus, and other demons for aid; he omitted the canonical hours, and never signed himself with the cross.[n] Otho, who could not speak Latin, cautioned the accusers, by the mouth of Liutprand, that they should not bring charges out of envy, as was usual against persons of eminent station; but both clergy and laity, "as one man," imprecated on themselves the most fearful judgments in this world and hereafter, if all, and worse than all, that they had said were not true; and at their entreaty the emperor wrote to John, desiring him to answer for himself. The pope only replied by threats of excommunication against all who should take part in the attempt to set up a rival against him.[o] The emperor spoke of this as boyish folly, and sent a second letter, which the messengers were unable to deliver, as John was engaged in hunting. Otho thereupon exposed the treachery with which the pope had behaved, after having invited him into Italy for the purpose of aiding against Berengar and Adalbert.[p] John was deposed, and Leo, chief

Dec. 4.

[n] Liutpr. 10. Cf. Bened. Soract. c. 35 (Patrol. cxxxix.). "The Protestants," says Gibbon, "have dwelt with malicious pleasure on these characters of Antichrist; but, to a philosophic eye, the vices of the clergy are far less dangerous than their virtues" (v. 513). This is equal in its kind to anything in Baronius.

[o] Liutpr. 13. John wrote "ut *non* habeatis licentiam *nullum* ordinare." The double negative does not escape criticism in the reply.

[p] Ib. 14.

secretary of the see, a man of good character, but not yet in orders, was elected in his room by the Roman clergy and people, whose choice was approved by the emperor.[q]

But a conspiracy was already formed against the Germans by means of the deposed pontiff's agents. Even while Otho remained at Rome, with only a few of his soldiers to guard him, an insurrection took place,[r] and, after the emperor's departure, John regained possession of the city. Another council was held, which deposed Leo from all clerical orders, annulled his ordinations, and, borrowing the language of Nicolas I. against the synod of Metz,[s] declared the late synod infamous; and the temporary triumph of the Tuscan party was signalized by a cruel vengeance on the hands, the eyes, the tongues, and the noses of their opponents.[t] Otho was on the point of again returning to expel John, when the pope died in consequence of a blow which he received on the head while in the act of adultery—from the devil, according to Liutprand, while others are content to suppose that it was from the husband whom he had dishonoured.[u] The Romans, forgetting their late oath, chose for his successor an ecclesiastic named Benedict; but the emperor reappeared before the city, starved them into a surrender, and reinstated Leo VIII. A council was held, at which Benedict gave up his robes and his pastoral staff to Leo. The pope broke the staff in the sight of the assembly; the antipope was degraded from the orders above that of deacon, which, at the emperor's

A.D. 964.

A.D. 964.

[q] Liutpr. 16. Baronius (963. 31-7) is violent against the council for its irregularity, and treats Leo as an antipope —"Nec numerata Leonum ita nominatorum pontificum series esse facit quod non est; sicuti nec canem aliquem leonis nomine insignitum vere esse leonem ipsa nominatio vel numeratio tantum facta constituit" (38). He is followed, with greater moderation, by Pagi (in loc.) and others (see Murat. Ann. V. ii. 217; Schröckh, xxii. 273). Dr. v. Döllinger's remarks on the subject are curiously qualified. i. 428.

[r] Liutpr. 16.

[s] See vol. ii. p. 374; Hard. vi. 663.

[t] Liutpr. 18, 19.

[u] Ib. 9. See Schröckh, xxii. 273-5

request, he was allowed to retain, and was banished to Hamburg. Benedict, who appears to have been a man of high personal character, met with great veneration in the place of his exile, and died there in the following year.[x]

John XIII., the successor of Leo, was consecrated with the emperor's approbation, in October 965; but within three months he was driven from Rome and imprisoned in a fortress of the Campagna, by a party which had become very powerful, and whose design it was to establish a government on the republican model, under the names of the ancient Roman magistracy, in hostility alike to German emperors and to the papacy.[y] In consequence of this revolution, Otho found himself obliged again to visit Rome. The pope was restored; the republican consuls were banished to Germany; the twelve tribunes were beheaded; others of the party were blinded or mutilated; the body of the prefect who had announced the decree of banishment to John was torn from the grave; his successor in A.D. 966.

Luden, vii. 529. Bp. Hefele (iv. 590) seems to think that John died of apoplexy.

[x] Liutpr. 21; Hard. vi. 637; Adam Brem. ii. 10; Pagi, xvi. 155. In Pertz, Leges, ii. 167-8, are two documents, which profess to be by Leo—(1) A *privilegium* granted to Otho, that he and his successors shall nominate both to the empire and to the papacy; and that, if any person be chosen pope by the clergy and people, the emperor's approbation and *investiture* shall be requisite. Dr. Pertz thinks that the emperors at the time really had the power here described, but that the document seems to betray a later origin. A longer form of this paper has been published, from a MS. at Treves, by Floss ('Eine Papstwahl unter den Ottonen,' Append. 35, Freiburg, 1858). See Hefele, iv. 592-6 The editor thinks that these forms contain just what Otho would have wished for, and what Leo, as his creature, would have granted (63-5); and that the shorter is probably an abridgment of the other. In the longer form, the *privilegium* is said to be as against the Romans, who had forfeited their right of election by abuse (153, 163)—"Cuncti enim novimus quod non est novi juris, ut rex Romanum gubernans imperium sanctæ sedis apostolicæ pontificem eligere et ordinare debeat" (151). (2) A *cession* of donations made to the church, which is evidently a forgery of the time when the empire and the papacy were at variance in the eleventh century. See Baron. 964. 22-9, with the notes by Pagi and Mansi; Giesel. II. i. 215; Milman, ii. 394; Mrs. Busk, i. note 76; Gregorov. ii. 382. Gfrörer (iii. 1255) defends the *privilegium*.

[y] Gibbon, v. 515; Sismondi. Rép Ital. i. 102; Milman, ii. 394, 395.

the prefecture, after having been suspended by his hair from the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, (which then stood near the Lateran), was paraded about the city, crowned with a bladder and riding backwards on an ass.[z] So great was the sensation excited by the report of these severities, that, when Liutprand was sent to Constantinople to seek a Greek princess in marriage for the heir of the empire, Nicephorus Phocas reproached him with his master's "impiety," and alleged it as a reason for treating the ambassador with indignity. Liutprand boldly replied that his sovereign had not invaded Rome as a tyrant, but had rescued it from the disgraceful oppression of tyrants and prostitutes; that he had acted agreeably to the laws of the Roman emperors, and, had he neglected so to act, he would himself have been "impious, unjust, cruel, and tyrannical."[a]

A.D. 966.

Crescentius, who is said (but probably without ground) to have been a grandson of Pope John X., by one of the Theodoras,[b] became the chief of the republican party, and governed Rome with the title of consul. His character has been extolled as that of a hero and a patriot;[c] yet there is not sufficient evidence to show that his

[z] Vita Joh. XIII., Murat. III. ii. 331. See as to this famous statue Gregorov. iii. 387-9.

[a] Cc. 4-5 of Liutprand's very curious and amusing 'Legatio.' Nicephorus styled Otho ῥῆγα, not βασιλέα, and complained of his assuming the imperial title (cc. 2, 25). He said, "as if for the purpose of insult"—"You are not Romans, but Lombards." Liutprand, notwithstanding the emperor's signs that he wished to continue his speech, interrupted him with an invective against the Romans from their origin under Romulus. "We," he said, "Saxons, Franks, Lotharingians, Bavarians, Swabians, Burgundians, despise them so much, that, when angry, we use no other term of insult to our enemies than— *Roman;* for in this single name of Romans we comprise whatever is ignoble, cowardly, greedy, luxurious, lying—in short, all vices" (c. 12). On a consideration of the context, and a comparison of cc. 50, 51, I am unable to agree with Dean Milman (ii. 396) that the Byzantine Romans are meant, although no doubt the words were intended to include a reflection on them.

[b] Hermann. Contract. (Ann. 974, ap. Pertz, v.), wrongly calls him son of Theodora. See Milman, ii. 398; Hefele, iv. 598; Gregorov. iii. 408.

[c] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 108, seqq

patriotism arose from any better motive than selfish ambition.[d] In 974, when the sceptre of Otho the Great had passed into the hands of a young and less formidable successor,[e] Crescentius decoyed Pope Benedict VI. into the castle of St. Angelo, where he was put to death. While the pope was yet alive, Boniface VII. was set up by the Crescentian party; but he was obliged to give way to Benedict VII., who was established by the Tusculan interest, and held the see until October 983.[f] Otho II., who was then in Italy, nominated to the papacy Peter, bishop of Pavia, who, out of reverence for the supposed apostolic founder of the Roman church, changed his name to John XIV. But the emperor died a few weeks later; and by this event Boniface, who in his flight had carried off much valuable property of the church, and had converted it into money at Constantinople, was encouraged to return to Rome, when he seized John, and shut him up in St. Angelo. The pope is supposed to have been made away with in his prison, either by hunger or by poison;[g] and the intruder, in concert with Crescentius, held the papacy until his own death, which took place within a year. His body was then dragged about the streets and treated with indignity, until some of the clergy charitably gave it burial.[h] The next pope, John XV.,[i] is described as a man of much learning;[k] but it is said that his clergy detested him for his pride,[l] and the biographer of Abbo of Fleury tells us that the abbot, on visiting Rome, found

April, 984.

Aug. 984 to July 985.

[d] Hallam, M. A. i. 221, 222.

[e] Peter Damiani has an extravagant legend as to the death of Otho I., Opusc. xxxiv. 7.

[f] Herm. Contr. Ann. 974; Schröckh, xxii. 281, 282; Jaffé, 332-6.

[g] Baron. 985. 1; Giesebr. i. 604-7. Otho II. died on Dec. 7, aged 28, and was the first emperor who was buried in St. Peter's, where his tomb may still be seen in the crypt.

[h] Herm. Ann. 985; Luden, vii. 276-7.

[i] According to some writers, another John, who is not reckoned in the series of popes, held the see for a short time between Boniface and John XV. See Murat., Annali, v. 477.

[k] See Schröckh, xxii. 283.

[l] Herm. Ann. 986.

him "not such as he wished him to be, or such as he ought to have been," but "greedy of base lucre, and venal in all his actions."[m] John was held in constraint by the "patrician" Crescentius (son of the former consul of that name),[n] who would not allow any one to approach him without paying for permission, and seized not only the property of the church, but even the oblations.[o] At length, unable to endure this growing oppression, the pope requested the intervention of Otho III., then a youth of sixteen; but as Otho was on his way to Rome, in compliance with this invitation, he was met at Ravenna by messengers who announced the pope's death, and, probably in the name of a party among the Romans who were weary of the patrician's domination, requested that the king (although he had not yet received the imperial crown) would nominate a successor. The choice of Otho fell on his cousin and chaplain Bruno, a young man of twenty-four, who was thereupon formally elected;[p] and the first German pope (as he is usually reckoned) assumed the name of Gregory V.[q]

A.D. 996.

Gregory crowned his kinsman as emperor on Ascension-day 996,[r] and, wishing to begin his pontificate with clemency, obtained the pardon of Crescentius, whom Otho had intended to send into exile. But scarcely had the emperor left Rome when Crescentius made an insurrection, and expelled Gregory. After an interval of eight months, the patrician set up an antipope,

Sept. 996.

[m] Aimoin. c. 11, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. viii.

[n] The elder Crescentius died in 984, as a monk in the convent of St. Alexius, on the Aventine. Gregorov. iii. 411; Giesebr. i. 681.

[o] Schmidt, ii. 65.

[p] See Floss, 'Papstwahl,' 46.

[q] Schröckh, xxii. 307, 308; Planck, iii. 342-5. Some writers, following Martinus Polonus, say that Stephen VIII. (A.D. 939-42) was a German, appointed through the influence of Otho I., and that on this account he was assaulted by the Romans (see Platina, 151; Baron 940. 16; Oldoin. in Ciacon. i. 708, Gfrörer, iii. 1207; Palgrave, Norm. and Eng. ii. 247); but others think that he was more likely a Roman (see L'Art de Vérif. les Dates, iii. 317).

[r] Höfler, i. 97. See Jaffé, 340.

John, bishop of Piacenza, by birth a Calabrian and a subject of the Greek empire, who had been chaplain to Otho's mother, the Byzantine princess Theophano, and had been godfather both to the emperor and to Gregory.[s] The tidings of the Roman insurrection recalled Otho from an expedition against the Slaves. He was met by Gregory at Pavia, advanced to Rome, and besieged Crescentius in St. Angelo. The German writers in general state that he forced the consul to a surrender, while the Italians assert that he got him into his power by a promise of safety.[t] If such a promise was given, it was violated. The patrician was beheaded on the roof of the castle of St. Angelo; his body was exposed on a gallows, hanging by the feet, after which it was thrown down, and ignominiously dragged out of the city; and twelve of his chief partisans were put to death.[u] The antipope John, who had shown an intention of placing Rome under the Byzantine empire,[x] was cruelly punished, although Nilus, a hermit of renowed sanctity, who had almost reached the age of ninety, had undertaken a toilsome journey from Rossano in Calabria, to intercede for him.[y] He was blinded, deprived of his nose and tongue,

May 997.

Jan. 998.

April 998.

[s] Annal. Quedlinburg. 997 (Pertz, iii.); Thietmar, iv. 21 (ib.); Höfler, i. 127.

[t] Thietmar, iv. 21; P. Damiani, Vita Romualdi, 25 (Patrol. cxliv.). See a comparison of the authorities in Luden, vii. 300-2, and the notes. In behalf of the German account, Schmidt says that Crescentius was tried by a Roman tribunal (ii. 67). Radulf the Bald tells a different story—that Crescentius, in despair, left the castle, made his way into the emperor's presence, and threw himself at his feet; that Otho, with sarcastic words, ordered him to be taken back, and continued the siege, until the garrison mutinied and made overtures to the emperor, who bade them throw the consul from the walls, "lest the Romans should say that we stole their prince"; and that thus Crescentius perished. i. 5. A.D. 998, ap. Bouquet, x.

[u] Ann. Quedlinb. 998, ap. Pertz, iii.; Giesebr. i. 703.

[x] Arnulf. Mediolan. i. 11; Murat. Annali, V. ii. 345; Schmidt, ii. 66.

[y] Vita Nili, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 949; or Acta SS., Sept. 26, c. 13; Neander, Memorials, 499; Höfler, i. 140. Nilus was born in 910, and died in 1005 at Grotta Ferrata, where his well-known monastery

stripped of his robes, and led through the city riding on an ass, with the tail in his hand; after which, according to some authorities, he was banished to Germany, while others say that he was thrown from the Capitol.[z] The varieties of statement as to the authors of his punishment are still greater: one annalist relates that he was blinded and mutilated by some persons who feared lest Otho should pardon him;[a] some writers state that Otho and Gregory concurred in the proceedings; while, according to others, the emperor was softened by the prayers of Nilus, and the cruelties exercised on the antipope were sanctioned by his rival alone.[b]

During the pontificate of John XV. the see of Reims had become the subject of a new contest, more important than that between Artald and Hugh. On the death of archbishop Adalbero, in the year 989, Arnulf, an illegitimate son of one of the last Carolingian kings,[c] requested Hugh Capet to bestow it on him, promising in return to serve him faithfully in all ways.[d] The new king granted the petition, chiefly with a view to detach Arnulf from the interest of his uncle Charles, duke of Lorraine, the heir of the Carolingian line. The archbishop, at his consecration, took an oath of fealty to Hugh, imprecating the most fearful curses on himself if he should break it.[e]

was founded after the date of his visit to Otho. Acta SS., l. c. p. 281.

[z] Thietmar, iv. 21; Pet. Damiani, Ep. i. 21 (Patrol. cxliv. 253).

[a] Ann. Quedlinb. 998. These annals are very unfavourable to John. Ann. 997.

[b] Vita Nili, l. c. See Luden, vii. 300-2, and notes; Höfler, i. 141; Bayle, art. *Othon III.*, notes B, C, D. "Il est presque impossible," says Bayle, "de mentir sur ces siècles-là. Racontez selon votre caprice et à tout hasard les circonstances de quelque fait, il arrivera rarement qu'aucun auteur ne vous favorise."—Note D.

[c] Sir F. Palgrave thinks that he was the offspring of a lawful marriage, but that it was afterwards dissolved on the ground of inequality in condition. ii. 798, 804.

[d] Richer, iv. 25.

[e] Among other things, "Fiant dies mei pauci, et *episcopatum meum accipiat alter*" (Synod. Rem. S. Basoli, c. 8). The instrument of his election alluded in curious terms to his birth—"Arnulphum regis Lotharii filium, quem etsi altus sanguis vitio temporis

He even received the eucharist in attestation of his fidelity, although some of the clergy[f] present protested against such an application of the sacrament. But when the arms of Charles appeared to be successful, the gates of Reims were opened to him, and his soldiers committed violent and sacrilegious outrages in the city. The archbishop was carried off as if a prisoner, and sent forth a solemn anathema against the robbers who had profaned his church;[g] it was, however, suspected that he had a secret understanding with his uncle, and the suspicion was speedily justified by his openly joining Charles at Laon.[h] But Laon was soon betrayed into the hands of Hugh by its bishop, Adalbero;[i] the king got possession of his rival's person, and imprisoned him at Orleans, where Charles died within a few months; and a council of the suffragans of Reims was held at Senlis, for the examination of their metropolitan's conduct. A.D. 990. Letters were then sent to Rome both by Hugh and by the bishops, detailing the treachery of Arnulf, with the wretched state into which his province had fallen, and asking how this "second Judas" should be dealt with.[k] But the pope was influenced by a partisan of Arnulf, who presented him with a valuable horse and other gifts; while the envoys of the opposite party, who made no presents either to John or to Crescentius, stood three days at the gates of the papal palace without being allowed to enter.[l]

sub anathemate positi aliquo affecit contagio, sed tamen hunc mater ecclesia purificans mysticis abluit sacramentis." This is supposed to be the work of Gerbert. Bouquet, x. 401.

[f] "Quorum mens purgatior erat." Richer, iv. 30.

[g] Syn. Rem. 12.

[h] Richer, iv. 33-6; Hock's 'Gerbert,' 83, (Wien, 1837).

[i] Adalbero had been a pupil of Gerbert, and was a man of ability and knowledge, but of perfidious character.

and suspected of an amour with Emma, the queen of Lothair, and mother of the last Carolingian, Lewis "le Fainéant." Richer, iii. 66; Hock, 151, 152; Palgrave, ii. 790.

[k] Syn. Rem. 25, 26; Richer, iv 41-8.

[l] Syn. Rem. 27; Syn. Causeiensis ap. Pertz, iii. Baronius (991. 9) thinks them very unreasonable in being so soon weary of waiting, seeing that the pope must have been full of business

But Hugh now found himself strong enough to act without the pope. In June 991, a synod was held at the monastic church of St. Basle, near Reims, under Siguin, archbishop of Sens.[m] The president proposed that, before proceeding to the trial of Arnulf, an assurance of indulgence for the accused should be obtained from the king, because, if his treason were a cause of blood, it would be unlawful for bishops to judge it.[n] Some members, however, remarked that the suggested course was dangerous; if bishops declined such inquiries, princes would cease to ask for ecclesiastical judgments, would take all judicature into their own hands, and would cite the highest ecclesiastics before their secular tribunals; and, in deference to these objections, the proposal appears to have been dropped. Siguin detailed the proceedings which had taken place; the pope, he said, had left the bishops of France a year without any answer to their application, and they must now act for themselves. All who could say anything in favour of the accused were enjoined, under pain of anathema, to come forward; whereupon Abbo, abbot of Fleury, and others produced passages from the Isidorian decretals, to show that the synod had no right to judge a bishop—the trial of bishops being one of those "greater causes" which belong to the pope alone.[o] To this it was answered that all had been

[m] The acts of this synod, which were first published by the Magdeburg centuriators, are not fully given in any edition of the councils, except that by Mansi. Pertz has printed them, vol. iii. 658, seqq.; and from his collection they are reprinted in the Patrologia, vol. cxxxix. Baronius (992. 3, 4, 11) and others attempt to throw suspicion on these acts, as having been drawn up by Gerbert; but the fact that Gerbert avows having edited them, with condensations and other such alterations, ought rather to tell in favour of their substantial correctness. (See Hist Litt. vi. 526, 589; Schröckh, xxii 286; Planck, iii. 307; Neander, vi. 33; Milman, ii. 411; Hefele, iv. 607.) Richer gives an account of the council (iv. 53, seqq.), and refers to Gerbert for further details (c. 73). For St. Basolus, or Basle, and the monastery, see Flodoard, ii. 2, and a Life by Adso, in the 'Patrologia,' cxxxvii. The monastery was destroyed in the first Revolution. 'Actes de la Prov. de Reims,' in Patrol. cxxxix. 189.

[n] C. 3.

[o] Cc. 19-22; Richer, iv. 67.

done regularly; that application had been made to the pope, but without effect.[p]

Arnulf of Orleans, who was regarded as the wisest and most eloquent of the French bishops,[q] spoke very strongly against the Roman claim to jurisdiction. He did not hint, nor does he appear to have felt, any suspicion of the decretals;[r] but in opposition to their authority he proved by an array of genuine canons, councils, and papal writings, that for the decision of local questions provincial synods were sufficient; and he cited the principles of Hincmar as to appeals. The requirements of the decretals, he said, had already been satisfied by the reference which both the king and the bishops had vainly made to Rome. He denied that the Roman pontiff could by his silence lay to sleep the ancient laws of the church, or could reverse them by his sole authority; if it were so, there would really be no laws to rely on. He enlarged on the enormities of recent popes, and asked how it was possible to defer to the sentence of such monsters—destitute as they were of all judicial qualities, of knowledge, of love, of character—very antichrists sitting in the temple of God, who could only act as lifeless idols. It would (he said) be far better, if the dissensions of princes would permit, to seek a decision from the learned and pious bishops of Belgic Gaul and Germany than from the venal and polluted court of Rome.

Arnulf of Reims was brought before the council, and protested his innocence of the treachery imputed to him; but he gave way when confronted with a clerk who had

[p] C. 27.

[q] C. 1. The speech put into his mouth is acknowledged by Gerbert to be a summary of his addresses to the council, and of his remarks to those who sat near him. Perhaps it may owe something more than is admitted to the editor. Baronius gives it with an indignant commentary of interruptions (902. 15, seqq.). Fleury is more favourable. lvii. 26.

[r] Schröckh, xxii. 289.

opened the gates of the city to the besiegers, and who now declared that he had acted under the archbishop's orders.[s] On the last day of the synod, when the king appeared with his son and colleague Robert, Arnulf prostrated himself before them, and abjectly implored that his life and members might be spared.[t] He was required to surrender the ensigns of his temporalities to the king, and those of his spiritual power to the bishops, and to read an act of abdication modelled on that by which Ebbo had resigned the same dignity a century and a half before. The degraded archbishop was then sent to prison at Orleans, and Gerbert, who had taken no part in the proceedings against him, was chosen as his successor.[u]

This eminent man was born of humble parentage in Auvergne about the middle of the century, and was admitted at an early age into the monastery of Aurillac,[x] where he made extraordinary proficiency in his studies. He had already visited other chief schools of France, when Borel, count of Barcelona, arrived at Aurillac on a devotional pilgrimage, and gave such a report of the state of learning in Spain as induced the abbot to send Gerbert with him on his return to that country.[y] In Spain Gerbert devoted himself especially to the acquirement of mathematical and physical science, which was then almost exclusively confined to the schools of the Saracens; but it is uncertain whether his knowledge was derived immediately from the Moslem teachers of Seville and Cordova,[z] or from Christians who had benefited by their instruction.[a]

[s] C. 30. The clerk, Adalgard, had before given evidence to this effect, and had offered to prove it by the ordeal (c. 11). He was afterwards deposed (c. 55).

[t] C. 53.

[u] Hock's 'Gerbert,' 103.

[x] Founded in the end of the ninth century by St. Gerard, count of Aurillac. See Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 7, 8; Annal. iii. 293; and the Life, by Odo of Cluny, ii. 2, seqq.; iii. 2 (Patrol. cxxxiii., or Acta SS., Oct. 13).

[y] Richer, iii. 43; Hock, 61.

[z] W. Malmesb. 284.

[a] Schröckh, xxi. 230. Hock (who undertakes the difficult task of repre-

In 968 he visited Rome in company with his patron Borel, and was introduced to Otho the Great. He then became master of the cathedral school at Reims, and on a second visit to Italy, in A.D. 972. company with archbishop Adalbero, he obtained the abbacy of Bobbio through the interest of the empress Adelaide.[b] But he found the property of the abbey dilapidated by his predecessor; he was involved in contentions with the neighbouring nobles, who insisted on his confirming grants of the monastic lands which had been wrongfully made to them; while the monks were insubordinate, and his connexion with the Germans served to render him generally unpopular.[c] His position became yet worse on the death of Otho, which took place within a year from the time of his appointment; and, after having in vain attempted to obtain support from the pope, he resolved to leave Bobbio, although he still retained the dignity of abbot.[d] "All Italy," he wrote on this occasion to a friend, "appears to me a Rome; and the morals of the Romans are the horror of the world."[e]

Gerbert resumed his position at Reims, where he raised the school to an unrivalled reputation, and effectively influenced the improvement of other seminaries.[f] The study of mathematics, the Arabian numerals, and the decimal notation were now for the first time introduced into France.[g] The library of the see was enriched by Gerbert's care with many transcripts of rare and valuable books;[h] while his mechanical genius and science

senting Gerbert as a sound and consistent "catholic") says that the story of his having studied under the Arabs is a calumny, which is not found until a century after his time (pp. 159, seqq.). See Ampère, iii. 311.

[b] Hock, 62, 63.

[c] Epp. 2, 3, ap. Bouquet, x.

[d] Hist. Litt. vi. 561.

[e] Ep. 40, ed. Paris, 1611; Hock, 64-7. Cf. Ep. 45.

[f] Hist. Litt. vi. 563.

[g] Hock, 149. See Martin, iii. 25. The statement as to the Arabic figures, however, is disputed. See Hallam, Hist. Litt. i. 150.

[h] Ep. 6, 8, etc., ap. Bouquet, x.

were displayed in the construction of a clock, of astronomical instruments, and of an organ blown by steam[k]—apparently the first application of a power which has in later times produced such marvellous effects.[k] He also took an important part in the political movements and intrigues of the time, acting as secretary to Adalbero, who, from his position as archbishop of Reims, exercised a powerful influence in affairs of state.[l] Adalbero had fixed on him as his own successor in the archbishoprick; but Gerbert's humble birth was unable to cope with the pretensions of Arnulf, which, as he asserts, were supported by simoniacal means.[m] He therefore acquiesced in his defeat, and retained the office of secretary under his successful rival. For a time he adhered to Arnulf in labouring for the interest of Charles of Lorraine; but he saw reason to change his course,[n] formally renounced the archbishop's service, and wrote to the archbishop of Treves that he could not, for the sake of either Charles or Arnulf, endure to be any longer a tool of the devil, and lend himself to the maintenance of falsehood against truth.[o] Hugh Capet gladly welcomed the accession of so accomplished a partisan, and employed him as tutor to his son Robert.[p]

The council of St. Basle wrote to the pope in a tone of great deference, excusing itself for having acted without his concurrence on the ground that he had so long left unanswered the application which had been made to him. But John had already sent northward as his legate an abbot named Leo, who had reached Aix-la-Chapelle when he was informed of Arnulf's deposition. On this the

[k] Sismondi, iv. 119. He afterwards made a famous clock at Magdeburg for Otho III. Thietmar, vi. 67.

[l] Hock, 69.

[m] Conc. Mosom. ap. Hard. vi. 735, b.; Richer, iv. 102; Hock, 80.

[n] See Milman, ii. 410.

[o] Epp. 73, 74, ap. Bouquet, x. 409; Richer, iv. 102; Hock, 85, 86.

[p] Helgald. Vita Roberti (Patrol. cxli. 911).

legate returned to Rome, and John issued a mandate to the bishops who had been concerned in the council, ordering them to appear at Rome for the trial of Arnulf's case, and in the meantime to reinstate the archbishop, and to abstain from the exercise of ecclesiastical functions.[q] The French bishops, in a A.D. 994. synod held at Chela,[r] resolved to maintain the decisions of St. Basle;[s] the king wrote to John, assuring him that nothing had been done in breach of the papal rights, and offering to meet him at Grenoble, if the pope should wish to investigate the affair;[t] while Gerbert protested to John that he had done no wrong,[u] and exerted himself, by correspondence in all directions, to enlist supporters on his side.[x] His tone as to the pretensions of Rome was very decided: thus he tells Siguin of Sens that God's judgment is higher than that of the Roman bishop, and adds that the pope himself, if he should sin against a brother, and should refuse to hear the church's admonitions, must, according to our Lord's own precept, be counted "as a heathen man and a publican"; he declaims on the hardship of being suspended from the offices of the altar, and urges the archbishop to disregard the papal prohibition.[y]

John, without making any public demonstration for a time, endeavoured, by the agency of monks, to excite discontent among the people of France, so as to alarm the new sovereign.[z] Gerbert found his position at Reims extremely uneasy. Some of his most powerful friends were dead. He tells his correspondents that there is a

[q] Hard. vi. 729; Pertz, iii. 680; Planck, iii. 315, 316.

[r] Seemingly Chelles, between Paris and Meaux.

[s] This council is known only from l. iv. 89 of Richer, whose valuable history was discovered by Pertz. See Giesel. II. i. 219; and for Richer's character, Palgrave, ii. 780-5.

[t] Bouquet, x. 418.

[u] Ib. 420, Ep. 92.

[x] Ib. 413, seqq.

[y] Ib. 413, Ep. 85.

[z] Planck, iii. 317, 318.

general outcry against him—that even his blood is required;[a] that not only his military retainers, but even his clergy, have conspired to avoid his ministrations, and to abstain from eating in company with him.[b] In this distress he was cheered by receiving a letter from Otho III., then in his fifteenth year. Gerbert gladly accepted the invitation, and in the end of 994 repaired to the German court, where he found an honourable refuge, and became the young prince's tutor and favourite adviser.[c] In this position, where new hopes were set before his mind, he could afford to speak of his archbishoprick with something like indifference. He writes to the empress Adelaide (widow of Otho the Great) that, as the dignity was bestowed on him by bishops, he will not resign it except in obedience to an episcopal judgment; but he will not persist in retaining it if that judgment should be against him.[d] In 995 the pope again sent Leo into France. The legate put forth a letter to Hugh and his son, by way of answer to Arnulf of Orleans and others who had taken part in the council of St. Basle.[e] He meets the charges of ignorance against Rome by citing passages of Scripture, in which it is said that God chooses the foolish things of this world in preference to the wise. In reply to the charges of venality, he alleges that our Lord himself and His apostles received such gifts as were offered to them. The bishops, by their conduct towards the Roman church, had cut themselves off from it; their behaviour to their mother had been like that of Ham to Noah. Arnulf of Orleans, "with his

[a] Bouquet, x. 421, Ep. 96. This seems to mean only that there was a wish to ruin him.

[b] Ib. 424, Ep. 102.

[c] Hock, 111-13.

[d] Ep. 102, l. c. Pagi (xv. 336), Hock (113), and others, place this letter before the council of Mousson; others, as Baronius (995. 12), Hardouin (vi. 734), and the editor of the 'Recueil des Hist. de la France' (x. 424), after it.

[e] Richer, iv. 95. The letter, which seems to be incomplete, is printed for the first time by Pertz, iii. 686.

apostate son, whoever he may be,"[f] had written such things against the holy see as no Arian had ever ventured to write. The legate cites the expressions of reverence with which eminent men of former times had spoken of Rome: if, he says, the chair of St. Peter had ever tottered, it had now re-established itself firmly for the support of all the churches. He reflects on the irregularity of the proceedings against Arnulf, and on the cruelty with which he was treated; and he excuses the pope's neglect of the first application in the matter on the ground of the troubles which were at that time caused by Crescentius.

A council, scantily attended by bishops from Germany and Lotharingia, was held under Leo at Mousson in June 995. The bishops of France had refused to appear either at Rome or at Aix;[g] Gerbert alone, who had already removed to the German court,[h] was present to answer for himself. In a written speech he defended the steps by which he had (reluctantly, as he said) been promoted to the see of Reims, together with his behaviour towards Arnulf. He declared himself resolved to pay no heed to the prohibition by which the pope had interdicted him from divine offices—a mandate (he said) which involved much more than his own personal interest; but, at the request of the archbishop of Treves, he agreed, for the sake of example, to refrain from celebrating mass until another synod should be held.[i] Arnulf was restored to his see by a synod held at Reims in 995; but he was detained in prison for three years longer.[k]

Robert I. of France, a prince of a gentle and devout,

[f] "Cum suo nescimus quo apostata filio," *i.e.* Gerbert, by whom the acts of the council were drawn up.

[g] Pertz, iii. 690. [h] Hock, 111.

[i] Conc. Mosomense, ap. Pertz, iii. 691; Richer, iv. 102-5.

[k] Hugo Floriac. ap. Bouquet, x. 220. Bp. Hefele (iv. 616) refers to the synod of Reims a speech which is described as delivered "in concilio Causeio" (Pertz, iii. 691).

but feeble character,[l] who succeeded his father in October 996, had married as his second wife Bertha, daughter of Conrad king of Burgundy, and widow of a count of Chartres. The union was uncanonical, both because the parties were related in the fourth degree, and because Robert had contracted a "spiritual affinity" with the countess, by becoming sponsor for one of her children; yet the French bishops had not hesitated to bless it, for in the marriages of princes the rigour of ecclesiastical law often bent to political expediency.[m] Robert, however, felt that, on account of this vulnerable point, it was especially his interest to stand well with Rome; and he despatched Abbo of Fleury as an envoy to treat with the pope in a spirit of concession as to the case of Arnulf. The abbot took the opportunity of obtaining privileges for his monastery from the new pope Gregory V.;[n] he returned to France with a pall for Arnulf; and in 998 the archbishop was released, and was restored to his see, which had been miserably impoverished during the long contest for the possession of it.[o]

But if Robert supposed that his consent to this restoration would induce the pope to overlook the irregularity of his marriage, he soon found that he had been mistaken. A synod held at Rome in 998 required him and his queen, on pain of anathema, to separate, and to submit to penance;[p] and it suspended the bishops who had officiated at the nuptials from communion until they should appear before the pope and make satisfaction for their offence.[q] As to the sequel, it is only certain that Robert yielded, and that the place of Bertha was supplied

[l] Helgald. Vita Roberti, ap. Bouquet, x. 98, seqq. He composed church hymns. (See Guéranger, i. 300-2, 308.) Sir F. Palgrave rates him more highly than is usual. vol. iii. c. 2.

[m] Planck, iii. 331, 332; Sismondi, iv. 104-6.

[n] Aimoin. 11, 12, ap. Mabill. viii., Gerbert, Ep. 102, ap. Bouquet, x. 424.

[o] Abbo, Ep. iii. 435.

[p] Can. 1.

[q] Can. 2.

by a queen of far less amiable character.[r] Peter Damiani, in the following century, relates that Bertha gave birth to a monster with the head and neck of a goose; that the king and the queen were excommunicated by the whole episcopate of France; that the horror of this sentence scared all men from them, with the exception of two attendants; that even these cast the vessels out of which Robert or Bertha had eaten or drunk into the fire, as abominable; and that thus the guilty pair were terrified into a separation.[s] But the terror to which Robert really yielded was more probably a dread of the spiritual power of Rome, and of the influence which, by uttering an interdict against the performance of religious offices, it might be able to exercise over his subjects; or it may be that, as is stated by the contemporary biographer of Abbo, he gave way to the persuasions of that abbot, who performed the part of Nathan in convincing him of his sin.[t]

These triumphs were very important for the papacy, following as they did after a time during which there had been little communication with France, while at home the papal see had been stained and degraded by so much of a disgraceful kind. They assured the popes that they had lost no power by the change of dynasty which had been effected without their sanction.[u] And if, as has been supposed, the sternness with which Gregory insisted on the separation of Robert and Bertha was instigated by the wish of Otho to humiliate the French king, it is one of many proofs that the rise of the papacy to a

[r] Sismondi, iv. 106.

[s] P. Damian. Opusc. xxxiv. 6 (Patrol. cxlv.).

[t] Aimoin. Vita Abbonis, ap. Bouquet, x. 107. Leo IX., in writing to Henry of France, the son of Robert, says that the king and queen were excommunicated, and thereupon went to Rome for penance. (Ap. Ivon. Decret. ix. 8, Patrol. clxi.) But there seems to be no contemporary evidence of this journey.

[u] Planck, iii. 329, 330.

superiority over all secular princes was mainly promoted by their attempts to use it as a tool in their jealousies and rivalries against each other.[x] The victory over the French episcopate was also important in consequence of the position which the popes took in the affair. They had already gained from the French church as much as was requisite for the admittance of their jurisdiction in the particular case—that a metropolitan of France should not be deposed without the concurrence of the pope. This had been allowed by Hincmar himself; it had even been the subject of a petition from the council of Troyes in 867;[y] it was acknowledged by Hugh Capet and his bishops until the pope's neglect of their application provoked the inquiry whether they might not act without him. But, not content with this, the popes and their advocates claimed that right of exclusive judgment over all bishops which was asserted for the papacy by the false decretals; and the result was therefore far more valuable for the Roman see than it would have been if the popes had only put forth such claims as were necessary for the maintenance of their interest in the case which was immediately before them.[z]

The young German pope died in February 999.[a] It was a time of gloomy apprehensions. The approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth had raised a general belief that the second advent was close at hand; and in truth there was much which might easily be construed as fulfilling the predicted signs of the end—wars and rumours of wars, famines and pestilences,

[x] Planck, iii. 338.

[y] See p. 387.

[z] Planck, iii. 327, 328.

[a] There is a mystery about the end of Gregory. The Life of Meinwerc (ap. Pertz, xi.) states that he was expelled, and after his restoration, was poisoned; and this Luden thinks probable (vii. 306, 307, 590; cf. Schröckh, xxi. 315). Gfrörer argues that Gerbert must have been at the bottom of Gregory's death, as he was ambitious of the papacy, and got it on the vacancy! (iii. 1507). See Milman, ii. 403.

fearful appearances in the heavens, faith failing from the earth, and love waxing cold.[b] In the beginning of the century, the council of Trosley (Troli, near Soissons)[c] had urged the nearness of the judgment-day as a motive for reformation ;[d] and preachers had often insisted on it, although their opinion had met with objectors in some quarters.[e] The preamble, "Whereas the end of the world draweth near," which had been common in donations to churches or monasteries,[f] now assumed a new and more urgent significance; and the belief that the long expectation was at length to be accomplished, did much to revive the power and wealth of the clergy, after the disorders and losses of the century.[g] The minds of men were called away from the ordinary cares and employments of life; even our knowledge of history has suffered in consequence, since there was little inclination to bestow labour on the chronicling of events, when no posterity was expected to read the records.[h] Some plunged into desperate recklessness of living;[i] an eclipse of the sun or of the moon was the signal for multitudes to seek a hiding-place in dens and caves of the earth; and crowds of pilgrims flocked to Palestine, where the Saviour was expected to appear for judgment.[k] A.D. 909.

In the room of Gregory, Otho raised to the papacy the man who had hitherto been its most dangerous opponent.

[b] Michelet, ii. 358-61; Milman, ii. 404.

[c] Pagi, xv. 551.

[d] Hard. vi. 506.

[e] Ampère, iii. 275. Abbo of Fleury says that in his youth he had heard such preaching at Paris, but had opposed it on the authority of the Gospels, the Apocalypse, and the book of Daniel (Apologeticus, Patrol. cxxxix. 471). Gieseler dates this statement about 990 (II. i. 266), and Sismondi (iv. 87) seems to be mistaken in saying that Abbo did not warn against the error until the danger was over, in 1001.

[f] As in Marculf, ii. 3, etc. (Patrol. lxxxvii.).

[g] Giesel. II. i. 268; Sismondi, iv. 88. See Milman, ii. 405, and his reference to Dr. Todd's Donellan Lectures.

[h] Sismondi, iv. 86, 87.

[i] Hock, 135.

[k] Mosheim, ii. 293; Giesel. II. i. 268, 269.

Gerbert's learning and abilities had procured for him a great ascendency over the mind of his imperial pupil,[1] from whom, in the preceding year, he had received the archbishoprick of Ravenna.[m] On attaining the highest dignity in the church, he assumed the name of Sylvester II.—a name significant of the relation in which he was to stand to a prince who aimed at being a second Constantine.[n] For Otho, who lost his father at the age of three, had been trained by his Greek mother, and by his Italian grandmother, Adelaide, to despise his own countrymen as rude, to value himself on the Byzantine side of his extraction, and to affect the elegancies of Greek and Roman cultivation.[o] He assumed the pompous titles of the eastern emperors; he affected to imitate their dress, and introduced into his court the ceremonies of Constantinople;[p] on re-visiting Germany, he carried with him a number of noble Romans, with a view of exhibiting to his countrymen a refinement to which they had been strangers; he even entertained the thought of making Rome the capital of his empire, and of restoring in its fullest extent the ancient Roman greatness.[q]

[1] Herm. Contract. A.D. 1000.

[m] Gregory's letter, on sending him the pall, is in Hard. vi. 740. Höfler groundlessly says that it proves the archbishoprick to have been given by the pope, and not by the imperial patronage (i. 159). Gfrörer, of course, has his theories (iii. 1502). In allusion to his three sees, *R*eims, *R*avenna, and *R*ome, Gerbert is said to have composed this line—

"Scandit ab R Gerbertus In R, post papa viget R."
Helgald. Vita Roberti (Patrol. cxii. 911).

[n] Milman, ii. 416. See as to Sylvester's presumed designs, Gregorov. iii. 503; Giesebr. i. 719.

[o] Schmidt, ii. 71; Luden, vii. 266. There is a legend that his mother, Theophano, after death, appeared to a nun, "in habitu miserabili," and declared that she was in torment for having introduced into the west Greek luxuries of female attire before unknown. Othlon. Visio 17 (Pertz, xi. 385).

[p] Thietmar, iv. 29. Dr. Pertz has found curious proofs of this at Rome. Giesel. II. i. 221. See Gregorov. iii. 498; Reumont, ii. 309-12; Giesebr. i. 724.

[q] Schmidt, ii. 68; Hock, 137. Otho is said, on the elevation of Gerbert, to have granted a charter, by which, rejecting the fabulous donations of Constantine and others, he states that, as he had raised his tutor (*magister*) to the papacy, so, for the love of him, he bestows certain territories on St. Peter

The new pope, in order, as it would seem, to reconcile his present position with his earlier career, granted to Arnulf of Reims the pall and all the other privileges which had been connected with the see.[r] It was thus made to appear as if Arnulf had been guilty, and as if his restoration were an act of grace on the part of the rival who had formerly been obliged to give way to him. Arnulf held the archbishoprick until the year 1023.

Sylvester's pontificate was not eventful. He had the mortification of being foiled by Willigis, archbishop of Mentz, a man who from a very humble origin had raised himself to the primacy of Germany, and who exercised a great influence, both by his position and by his political abilities.[s] The contest is said to have arisen out of the pride of the emperor's sister Sophia, who, being about to enter the nunnery of Gandersheim, disdained to receive the veil from any prelate of less than metropolitan dignity. Willigis was therefore invited to officiate at Gandersheim, and not only did so, but even held a synod there. Osdag, bishop of Hildesheim, within whose diocese the convent was situated, complained of these invasions, and for a time the matter was accommodated in his favour;[t] but Willigis again interfered with the rights of the bishop's successor, Bernward. A synod

(Pertz, Leges, ii. 162, seqq.). The document has been much questioned, and has been supposed (as by Pagi, xvi. 391) to be a forgery in the anti-papal interest executed not earlier than the time of the disputes as to investitures. It is, however, defended by Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 162; Gfrörer, ii. 1571; Gieseler, II. i. 221; and Giesebrecht, i. 727, 851. See Gregorov. i. 503.

[r] Gerb. Ep. cvi. ap. Bouquet, x. 425; or Hard. vi. 760. Pagi (xvi. 397), Planck (iii. 325), and others suppose the letter to be one of Gregory V., wrongly ascribed to his successor. But the explanation given in the text seems to be the true one. See Neand. vi. 42; Höfler, i. 111.

[s] See Hock, 68; Gfrörer, iv. 72; Giesebr. i. 620-1. Willigis founded the cathedral of Mentz, and the convent of St. Stephen, in which he is buried. His name is still preserved by a street in the town.

[t] Thangmar. Vita S. Bern. Hildesh. c. 15 ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben., viii.; Acta SS., Oct. 26; or Pertz, iv.

held at Rome, in the presence of the pope and of the emperor, decided that Bernward should exercise the rights of diocesan over the community, but left the further settlement of the case to a synod which was to be assembled in Germany, under the presidency of a papal legate.[u] This assembly met in 1001, at Palithi or Pölde in Saxony. The archbishop, seeing that its feeling was against him, assumed a tone of insolent defiance towards the legate, broke up the session by means of his disorderly adherents, and had disappeared when the council reassembled on the following day. As the influence of Willigis appeared to render a fair trial hopeless in Germany, it was resolved to summon all the bishops of that country to attend a council in Italy; but, although the papal citation was seconded by the emperor, who needed the aid of their followers for the reinforcement of his army, so powerful were their fears of the primate that hardly any of them appeared. The pope found himself obliged to adjourn the consideration of the question; and on the death of Otho, which followed soon after, the power of Willigis was so much enhanced by the importance attached to his voice in the choice of a new emperor, that Sylvester did not venture to prosecute the matter.[x] In 1007 the controversy was determined in favour of the see of Hildesheim; but by the authority of the emperor Henry, and without the aid of Rome.[y] It was, however, again revived, and was not finally settled until 1030, when Aribo, archbishop of Mentz, acknowledged to Godehard of Hildesheim that his pretensions against the diocesan jurisdiction had been unfounded.[z]

The pilgrims who flocked to the Holy Land were

[u] Thangmar. Vita S. Bern. Hildesh. c. 24.

[x] Ib. 28-30; Planck, iii. 354-65.

[y] Annal. Hildesh. 1007, ap. Pertz, ii. 93; Thangmar. 40, 41; Mabill. Annal. iv. 148, seqq.

[z] Annal. Hild. 1030, p. 97; Chron. Hild. ap. Leibnitz, i. 744; Vit. S. Godeh. c. 31, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. viii.

subjected to much oppression and annoyance by its Mussulman rulers, and frequent complaints of their sufferings were brought into western Christendom. By these reports Sylvester was excited to issue a letter addressed in the name of Jerusalem to the universal church,[a] beseeching all Christians to sympathize with the afflictions of the holy city, and to aid it by gifts, if they could not do so by arms. The letter was not without effect in its own time, for some enterprises were in consequence undertaken against the Saracens;[b] but the great movement of the crusades, of which it may be regarded as the first suggestion, was reserved for a later generation.

The young emperor appears to have fallen into a morbid state of melancholy. He had been lately shaken by the deaths of his cousin Gregory V., of his aunt Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, who in his absence carried on the government of Germany, and of other relations, which left him without any near kindred except two young sisters, who had both entered the cloister.[c] He may, perhaps, have been touched by regret for the cruelties which had been committed in his name against the republicans of Rome; perhaps, also, the millenary year may have aided in filling his mind with sad and depressing thoughts.[d] After having secluded himself for fourteen days, which he spent in prayer and fasting, he was persuaded by Romuald, the founder of the Camaldolite order, to undertake a penitential pilgrimage to Monte Gargano;[e] he visited the hermit Nilus, near Gaeta,

[a] Ep. cvii. ap. Bouquet, x. 426.

[b] A fleet, fitted out by Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles, recovered Sardinia from them (Heeren, Hist. Werke, ii. 230); but the story of a Pisan expedition to Syria is fabulous. Sybel, 'Der erste Kreuzzug,' 541.

[c] Annal. Quedl. 998, 1000, 1002.

[d] Luden, vii. 308-10.

[e] P. Damiani, Vita Romualdi, 25 (Patrol. cxliv.), Chron. Casin. ii. 24; Höfler, i. 180. Peter Damiani says that the pilgrimage was undertaken in penance for breach of faith with Crescentius, and that Otho made it barefooted.

where he displayed the deepest humility and contrition ;[f] and, after his return to Rome, finding himself still unable to rest, he set out on a long journey through his dominions beyond the Alps. At Gnesen, in Poland, he knelt as a penitent before the tomb of Adalbert, bishop of Prague, who had been known to him, and perhaps little regarded by him, in earlier days, but had since found the death of a martyr in Prussia, and was now revered as a saint.[g] At Aix-la-Chapelle, the emperor indulged his gloomy curiosity by opening the tomb of Charlemagne ;[h] and in 1001 he once more arrived at Rome, where he founded in the island of the Tiber a church in honour of St. Adalbert, whom he had already honoured by a like foundation at Aix.[i] The south of Italy was in a state of rebellion,[k] and an insurrection took place at Rome, where Otho was besieged in his palace.[l] It is said that from the walls he indignantly reproached the Romans for their unworthy requital of the favours which he had shown them, even to the prejudice of his own countrymen ; that he received the eucharist with the intention of sallying forth, but was restrained by the exertions of his friends.[m] The short remainder of his days was spent in restless movements

[f] Vita Nili, 81, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vi. 950. Their meeting is the subject of one of Domenichino's frescoes in the church of the Basilian monastery founded by Nilus at Grotta Ferrata.

[g] Thietmar, iv. 28 ; Luden, vii. 313. For Adalbert, see below, chap. vii. He was the second person who was formally canonized at Rome, Ulric of Augsburg having been the first. Giesebr. i. 720.

[h] Thietmar, iv. 29.

[i] Höfler, i. 181. It is said that Otho exchanged the chair in which the body of Charlemagne had been found sitting, with the king of Poland, for an arm of St. Adalbert. (Ademar. i., iii. [in some copies] Patrol. cxli. 49). But Noppius in his Aachener Chronik (p. 218), maintains the identity of the chair which is still shown in the church there with that which was found in the great emperor's tomb. At Rome the name of Adalbert has been superseded by that of St. Bartholomew, whose supposed relics (see below, c. IX. iii. 5) the emperor placed in the church. See Gregorov. iii. 510-11.

[k] Giesebr. i. 744.

[l] Thietmar, iv. 30.

[m] See Schmidt, i. 70; Luden, vii. 322, and notes.

and in penitential exercises, while he cherished the intention of raising his feudatories for the punishment of the Romans; but his projects were cut short by death at Paterno, a castle near Mount Soracte, and within sight of the ungrateful city, on Jan. 24, 1002.[n] Although the German chroniclers in general attribute his end to small-pox, a later[o] story, of Italian origin, has recommended itself to some eminent writers[p]—less perhaps by its probability than by its romantic character. Stephania, it is said, the beautiful widow of Crescentius, provoked by her husband's wrongs and her own[q] to a desire of deadly vengeance, enticed the young emperor to her embraces, and by means of a pair of gloves administered to him a subtle poison,[r] which dried up the sources of his strength, and brought him to the grave at the age of twenty-two. In fulfilment of a promise which Otho had exacted when he felt that his end was near, his body was conveyed across the Alps by his chancellor, Heribert archbishop of Cologne, and was interred in Charlemagne's minster at Aix-la-Chapelle.[s]

Within little more than a year, Sylvester followed his

[n] Thietmar, iv. 30; Pagi, xvi. 418; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 12; Gregorov. iii. 519; Reumont, ii. 322. In remarkable opposition to Thietmar's expressions of grief for Otho, Bonizo says that he died without the viaticum, and "was buried in hell." l. iv. p. 800

[o] See Hock, 140. It is told, but vaguely, in the Life of Meinwerc, c. 7 (Pertz, xi.).

[p] Murat. Annal. VI. i. 13; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 111; Milman, iii. 417. See the various accounts in Luden, vii. 323-5, and notes.

[q] "Traditur adulteranda Teutonibus." Arnulf. Mediolan. i. 12 (Pertz, viii.).

[r] Lambert of Deutz, a biographer of Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, says, "per mulierem veneno perit" (c. 11 Acta SS., Mart. 16). Rupert of Deutz, in his life of the same prelate (c. 10), says that, while sleeping in his chamber, he was poisoned by the widow of Crescentius. (Ib.) Landulf senior (ii. 19, ap. Pertz, viii.) says that she wrapped him in a poisoned deer-skin; the Saxon annalist (A.D. 1102, ib. vi.), that when he had left Rome she sent a poison to him. See, too, the Annals of Pölde (Pertz, xvi. 65); and for the fabulousness of the story, Hefele, iv. 621. Cf. Chron. Casin. ii. 24.

[s] Lambert. Tuit. c. 11, Acta SS. Mart. 16, p. 465. For this church Otho had obtained privileges from Gregory V., and had provided a great establishment of clergy. Giesebr. i. 734.

May 1003 pupil to the grave. On him too it is said that the vengeance of Stephania wreaked itself by a poison which destroyed his voice, if it did not put an end to his life.[t] But a more marvellous tale s related by the zealous partisans of the see which he had so strongly opposed in its assumptions, and which he had himself at length attained. To the authentic accounts of his acquirements and of his mechanical skill they add that he dealt in unhallowed arts, acquired from a book which he had stolen from one of his Saracen teachers. He understood, it is said, the flight and the language of birds; he discovered treasures by magic; he made a compact with the devil for success in all his undertakings; he fabricated, under astral influences, a brazen head, which had the power of answering questions affirmatively or negatively. To his question, "Shall I be apostolic pontiff?"[u] it answered "Yes." When he further asked, "Shall I die before I sing mass in Jerusalem?" the reply was "No." But as is usual in such legends, the evil one deluded his victim; the Jerusalem in which Gerbert was to die was the Roman basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.[x]

[t] Annal. Saxo, A.D. 1102.

[u] "Apostolicus." Ducange, s. v., and Suicer, s. v. ἀποστολικός, say that this was formerly an epithet common to all bishops, but do not mark the time when it became restricted to the pope alone.

[x] Will. Malmesb. 283. The oldest writer in whom such stories are found is Benno de Vita Hildebr. ap. Goldast. Apol. Hen. IV. p. 11. See Ciacon. i. 753-6; Döllinger, 'Päpstfabeln,' 157. The various legends are collected by Hock: as a specimen, the Chronicle of Melrose may be quoted—"Eundem vero [Gerbertum] interius postea compunctum, et exterius horribiliter afflictum, manus et pedes abscissos diabolo projecisse dicunt, et sic truncum obiisse, et inter beatos collocatum" (A.D. 1005, ap. Fell, 153. Cf. Pet. de Alliaco, de falsis Prophetis, ap. Gerson, i. 575). The most romantic form of the story is that told by Walter Mapes ('De Nugis Curialium,' 170-6, Camden Soc.). William of Malmesbury says that Gerbert went on without thinking of repentance, because he was not likely to go to Jerusalem; but his letter to the universal church might suggest an alternative in keeping with the ambitious character ascribed to him—that, if his soul were required of him, it would not be until he had rendered his pontificate memorable by the recovery of the Holy Land. Another

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF POPE SYLVESTER II. TO THE DEPOSITION OF GREGORY VI.

A.D. 1003—1046.

THE unexpected death of Otho III. left his dominions without an heir,[a] nor had any successor to the empire been provided. After much negotiation, Henry, duke of Bavaria, descended from a brother of Otho the Great, was chosen as king of Germany—chiefly through the influence of archbishop Willigis, by whom he was crowned at Mentz.[b] Henry, who is usually styled the Second,[c] had been intended by his parents for the ecclesiastical state,[d] and was a prince of very devout character, so that he attained the honour of canonization, which was conferred also on his wife June 1002.

story of an ambiguous prophecy as to dying in Jerusalem, is related of Robert Guiscard (A. Comnena, vi. 6); and every reader will remember a parallel in English history. Comp. Ammian. Marcellinus, xxv. 3, as to Julian's dying at Phrygia; and the account of Frederick II.'s death, in a future volume. Sylvester's tomb, in the Lateran church, was said to exude water "etiam in serenissimo aëre, cum non sit in humido loco" (Joh. Diacon. de Eccl. Lateran., Patrol. cxciv. 1552). This, according to a Vezelay chronicler (Labbe, Biblioth. MSS. i. 395), was in token of the death of a pope; and, according to another story, which Mr. Gregorovius traces to a misunderstanding of a line in Sylvester's epitaph, such deaths were foreshown by a rattling of his bones within the grave. Grabmäler der röm. Päpste, p. 43.

[a] It appears to be uncertain whether Otho had been married (see Hefele, iv. 621). The elder Landulf says that his wife died, and that he sent Arnulf, archbishop of Milan, to seek a Byzantine princess in marriage for him. ii. 18.

[b] Thietmar, iv. 34; Pagi, xvi. 421; Schmidt, ii. 72-4; Gfrörer, iv. 16; Giesebr. ii. 14, seqq. The constitution of the seven German electors was fabulously carried back to this time, and was referred to Gregory V. See Marsil. Patav. in Goldast de Monarchia, ii. 154, quoting Martinus Polonus; Hard. vi. 745, seqq.; Ducange, s. v. *Elec. tores;* Pagi, xvii. 356; Giannone, l. xiii. 1. 5.

[c] He was so as king of Germany, but the First as emperor.

[d] Annalista Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 686; Giesebr. ii. 78, 594.

Cunegunda ;[e] but his piety was not of a kind to unfit him for the active duties of his position, nor had any emperor since Charlemagne exercised so much of control over the church.[f] He governed with ability and vigour, in the midst of much opposition and many difficulties, until the year 1024. In illustration of the mixture of saint and statesman in him, we are told that on one occasion he appeared before Richard, abbot of St. Vanne's, at Verdun, in his Lotharingian dominions, and expressed a resolution to become a monk. The abbot, after some consideration, admitted him as a member of his own community, but immediately charged him, by his vow of monastic obedience, to return to the administration of the empire which had been committed to him by God.[g]

The Italians, on the death of Otho, hastily set up a king of their own, Harduin, marquis of Ivrea. But his power was controlled by the quarrels of various parties, which were too much bent on the advancement of their own private interests to combine in any policy for their common country. While the nobles of Italy were desirous of national independence, as being most favourable to their class, the prelates and clergy in general preferred the rule of a German sovereign, as less likely to interfere

[e] See the Acta SS., Jul. 14 ; or Patrol. cxl. 20 ; and the Life of Cunegunda, ib. 205, seqq. A lameness with which Henry was afflicted, while it is traced by some to a wound received in hunting (Acta SS. l. c. p. 633), or to a fall, is referred by his legendary biographer to an angel's having touched a sinew, which shrank, like Jacob's, while the emperor was at Monte Gargano. (Vita Anon. 40, Patrol. cxl. ; ib. pp. 13-14). Giesebrecht throws doubt on the lameness, ii. 600.

[f] Giesebr. ii. 82.

[g] Miracula B. Richardi, c. 8, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. viii. The story is not unsuspected (Acta SS. Bolland., l. c. p. 712 ; Giesebr. ii. 199, and note). Abbot Richard was a man of great influence, and much noted for piety. Peter Damiani relates that a monk saw him after death toiling in the erection of lofty buildings—a punishment for the too great indulgence of his architectural taste (Ep. viii. 2); but Mabillon makes light of this vision (Annal. iv. 475), and it finds no favour with the Bollandists. See the Acta SS., Jun. 14, p. 455—"Recte autem arbitratur Menardus esse ista intelligenda de pœnis purgatoriis, cum non sit adeo grave flagitium, et ipso inferno dignum, insanas substructionum moles meditari."

with their own power than that of a nearer neighbour.[h] Harduin incurred the detestation of the clergy, not only by such oppressions as were usual, but by acts of savage personal violence against bishops who refused to comply with his will.[i] To these causes of disagreement was added the rivalry between the two chief cities of northern Italy—Milan, the residence of the later Roman emperors, and Pavia, the capital of the Lombard kingdom. That Harduin had been set up at Pavia ensured him the opposition of the Milanese, headed by their archbishop Arnulf, who in 1004 invited Henry into Italy.[k] Harduin found himself deserted by most of his adherents, who flocked to the German standard. Henry was crowned as king of Italy at Pavia; but the popular abhorrence of the Germans displayed itself, as usual, in the form of an insurrection. On the very night after the coronation, the king found himself besieged in his palace. The Germans, in order to divert the attack, set fire to the neighbouring houses. Henry's troops, who were at some distance from the city, were recalled by the sight of the flames, and the rising was suppressed; but a great part of Pavia had been destroyed, and the king recrossed the Alps with a feeling of disgust and indignation against his Italian subjects.[l] Harduin renewed his pretensions, but in 1012 was compelled by a second expedition of Henry to abdicate; and, after a vain attempt to recover his power, he ended his days in a monastery—the last Italian of the middle ages who pretended to the crown of Lombardy.[m]

May 15, 1004.

In the meanwhile the Roman factions had taken advantage of the difficulties in which the Germans were involved. John, a son or brother of the younger

[h] Schmidt, ii. 235-6; Luden, vii. 361.

[i] See the Life of Henry by Adelbold, who styles Harduin "episcopicida." Pertz, iv. 687; Luden, vii. 361.

[k] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 70, 253-4.

[l] Thietmar, vi. 6; Luden, vii. 375.

[m] Ib. 430.

Crescentius,[n] for some years governed Rome with the title of patrician, as the head of a republican administration.[o] It would seem that to him three popes, who filled the chair from 1004 to 1012, were indebted for their elevation. But on the death of the last of these, Sergius IV.,[p] which followed closely on that of the patrician, the disposal of the papacy was disputed by another party, headed by the counts of Tusculum, who, like the Crescentians, were descended from the notorious Theodora, her daughter Marozia having married their ancestor Alberic.[q] The Tusculan party set up a pope named Benedict, whom they contrived to maintain against all opposition. Gregory, the popular or Crescentian pope, was expelled from the city, and set off for Germany to implore the aid of Henry.[r] The king was not unwilling to have a pretext for going to Rome, where he was received with the greatest honours, and was made advocate of the church, which he swore faithfully to protect. But the visit resulted in the establishment not of Gregory, but of his rival Benedict, from whom Henry received the imperial crown.[s]

A.D. 1012.

Feb. 14, 1014.

[n] See Luden, vii. 408.

[o] Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 112.

[p] Sergius was before called *Bucca Porci*, or *Os Porci* (*Bocca di Porco*), and on his election discarded the uncomely name (Thietmar, vi. 61). He has been confounded with Sergius II. (A.D. 844), to whom the first example of such a change of name has consequently been referred. But the earliest real instance was that of Octavian or John XII. (see p. 20). See Ciacon. i. 763-5; Murat. VI. i. 43; Schröckh, xxii. 322.

[q] Milman, ii. 421.

[r] There has been much dispute as to the meaning of a passage in Thietmar, vi. 61—whether Benedict drove out Gregory, or Gregory drove out Benedict. But the second supposition (although supported by Luden, vii. 617-19) implies an almost inconceivable awkwardness in the chronicler's language, while there is no need to assume that the claimant who applied to Henry was the same whom he eventually supported. See Schröckh, xxii. 322-3; note on Mosheim, ii. 328; Gfrörer, iv. 87; Jaffé, 356; Gregorov. iv. 15.

[s] Thietmar, vi. 61; vii. 1; Giesebr. ii. 125. Berno, abbot of Reichenau, says that in his own hearing Henry asked why the Nicene creed was not sung in the mass, and was told that the Roman church, having been always orthodox, did not need so to use it.

Benedict VIII., a man of ability and vigour, enjoyed greater power than his immediate predecessors, who had been subordinate to the Crescentian family.[t] His energy was displayed in opposition both to the Greeks (with whom the Crescentian party had been connected)[u] and to the Saracens. He induced the Pisans to attack the infidels in Sardinia, where the Christian inhabitants were oppressed and persecuted; and the expedition resulted in the conquest of the island.[x] When a Saracen chief sent Benedict a sack full of chestnuts with a message that he would return at the head of a like number of warriors, the pope sent it back filled with grains of millet, telling the Saracen that, if he were not content with the evil which he had already done, he should find an equal or greater multitude of men in arms ready to oppose him.[y] In 1020 Benedict went into Germany, ostensibly for the consecration of the church of St. Stephen[z] at Bamberg; but the journey had also the more secret object of asking for aid against the Saracens, and he persuaded the emperor to lead his troops once more into Italy, where Henry delivered Rome from its danger by the overthrow of the enemy.[a]

but by the emperor's desire it was introduced. (De Officio Missæl, 2, Patrol. cxlii.) The answer is inconsistent with the explanation proposed by Martene (De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, i. 138)--that the creed was *said*, though not *sung*. It is more probable that the omission arose out of the controversy as to *Filioque* in the time of Charlemagne (see vol. iii. p. 159). Mabill. Annal. iv. 235; Schröckh, xxii. 324-5. See Krazer de Liturgiis, 451.

[t] Gfrörer, iv. 92; Giesebr. ii. 123, 174.

[u] Gfrörer, iv. 122.

[x] Chron. Pisan. ap. Murat. vi. 108, 167.

[y] Thietmar, vii. 31.

[z] Not, as some writers say, of the cathedral—that having been consecrated in 1011 or 1012 (Pertz, xvii. 635-6; Pagi, xvi. 469; Giesebr. ii. 62),—although the pope on this occasion bestowed additional privileges on the see. Ep. 25 (Patrol cxxxix.); Giesebr. ii. 171.

[a] Annal. Quedl. 1020; Vita Henrici, cc. 25, seqq. ap. Pertz, iv.; Gfrörer, iv. 126. It was probably at Bamberg that Henry granted a charter which has sometimes been referred to his visit to Rome in 1014. By this the donations of former emperors are confirmed, and the new see of Bamberg, with the abbey of Fulda, especially made over to the papacy, while it is provided

A new power had lately appeared in the south of Italy. The Normans, after their conversion, had caught up with peculiar enthusiasm the passion for pilgrimages which was then so general. Companies of them—usually armed, for defence against the dangers of the way—passed through France and Italy, and, after visiting Monte Gargano, which was famous for an appearance of the archangel Michael,[b] they took ship from the southern harbours of the peninsula for the Holy Land.[c] Early in the eleventh century, a body of about forty Norman pilgrims, who had returned from the east in a vessel belonging to Amalfi, happened to be at Salerno when the place was attacked by a Saracen force. The prince, Guaimar, was endeavouring to raise the means of buying off the infidels; but the Normans, after giving vent to their indignation at the cowardice of the inhabitants, begged him to furnish them with arms, sallied forth against the enemy, and by their example roused the spirit of the Greeks to resistance. The prince rewarded their aid with costly presents, and offered them inducements to remain with him; and although they declined the invitation for themselves, they undertook, at his request, to make his circumstances known in their own country.[d] The sight of the rich and unknown fruits of the south,[e] of the silken dresses and splendid armour which they carried

that the pope is to be chosen in the presence of the imperial commissioners (Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 174). Schröckh (xxii. 323-4) and Planck (iii. 373) speak of it as certainly spurious; but Pertz, Gfrörer (iv. 12), Giesebrecht (ii. 172-3), and Villemain (Hist. de Grégoire VII. i. 237) suppose it to be only interpolated. Gieseler gives no opinion (II. i. 224). See a dissertation by Cenni, Patrol. xcviii. 609, seqq.; Murat. Annal. VI. i. 60; and on the date, see Pagi and Mansi, xvi. 516

[b] See the lessons of the Roman Breviary, May 8; Acta SS., Sept. t. viii. 54-63.

[c] Giannone, ii. 150-1.

[d] Ib. 152.

[e] So in an earlier age Narses is said to have sent to the Lombards in Pannonia, "multimoda pomorum genera aliarumque rerum species quarum Italia ferax est," by way of inviting them into Italy (see vol. ii. p. 319). Paul. Diacon. de Gestis Langob. ii. 5 (Patrol. xcv.).

home, excited the adventurous spirit of the Normans.[f] A chief named Osmond Drengot, who was on uneasy terms with his duke in consequence A.D. 1016. of having slain a nobleman who enjoyed the prince's favour,[g] resolved to go into Italy with his family. He waited on the pope, who advised him to attack the Greeks of Apulia, and before reaching Monte Gargano the band was increased to the number of about a hundred warriors.[h] These adventurers entered into the service of the neighbouring princes and republics,[i] mixed in their quarrels, and aided them, although not with uniform success, against the Saracens and the Greeks. They were reinforced by outlaws of the neighbourhood, and by fresh migrations of their countrymen; they obtained grants from Henry and from the government of Naples, founded and fortified the town of Aversa in 1029, and established themselves as an independent power, with a territory which was divided into twelve counties—their chief

[f] Chron. Casin. iii. 37; Amatus, i. 17-19, *i.e.* 'L'Ystoire de li Normant,' published by the Soc. de l'Hist. de France, Paris, 1835 an old translation of a chronicle written by Amatus, a monk of Monte Cassino, while Desiderius (afterwards pope Victor III.), was abbot of that house (Petr. Diac. de VV. Illustr. Casin. 20, Patrol. cxlviii.; Tosti, Storia di Mtecass. i. 348-54, 417-19). The editor, M. Champollion-Figeac (p. xlvi. seqq.) identifies the chronicler with a bishop of Nusco. (See Giesel. II. ii. 236; Giannone, ii. 149.) The time of this bishop, *St.* Amatus, however, is matter of dispute, as, while some place him in the 11th century, the Bollandists date his death so late as 1193. Acta SS., Aug. 3, pp. 709-10. Giesebrecht places the chronicler's death in 1093 (ii. 570), which is the year given by Ughelli (vii. 533) for the death of the bishop.

[g] Amatus, i. 20; Guil. Gemet. vii. 20 (Patrol. cxlix.); Order. Vital. 53-5, and Le Provost's note.

[h] Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Sismondi, iv. 161-2.

[i] "Nunc hoc, nunc illo contempto, plus tribuenti
Semper adhærebant, servire libentius illi
Omnes gaudebant a quo plus accipiebant.
Gul. Appulus, i. 141-4. (*Pertz*, ix.)

"Illa quidem tellus nullius muneris expers,
Fœtibus arboreis uberrima, vitibus, agris,
Urbibus et castris omnique decore nitebat;
Sed vulgus stolidum, pravum, rude, futile, vanum,
Otia longa sequi solitum, fugiensque laboris,
Mente manuque pigrum, nec pace nec utile bello,
Ergo viri . . . . . potiundi finibus illis
Spem rapiunt animo," etc.
[*Pseudo*] *Gunther. Ligurinus*, i. 686, seqq. (*Patrol.* ccxii.)

It would seem that even before this time there were many Normans serving as mercenaries in Italy. Finlay, 'Greece and Trebizond,' 62.

bearing the title of duke of Apulia.[k] But they soon displayed the habits of robbers, and were at war with all around them. Churches and monasteries were especial sufferers from their rapacity.[l]

Both Henry and Benedict died in 1024. The Tusculans filled the papacy with a brother of the deceased pope, named John, in whose favour they bought the suffrages of the Romans with a large sum of money—a proceeding which the strength which they had by this time acquired would perhaps have rendered unnecessary, but for the circumstance that John was a layman.[m] As Henry was childless, the empire was again without an heir. The choice of the electors fell on Conrad of Franconia, who was descended from a daughter of Otho the Great,[n] and is styled *the Salic*, probably in order to signify that he sprang from the noblest race of the Franks.[o] A difficulty was raised by Aribo, archbishop of Mentz, and other bishops, on the ground that Conrad had contracted a marriage within the fifth degree; he was even required to renounce either his wife or the dignity to which he had been chosen. But he firmly refused to consent to a separation, and his queen was crowned at Cologne by the archbishop, Piligrin, who, after having joined in the opposition, requested that he might be allowed to perform the ceremony.[p] The election of Conrad was justified by a course of government which occasioned the saying that his throne stood on the steps of Charlemagne.[q]

Sept. 8, 1024.

Sept. 22.

[k] Gul. App. i. 165-87; Giannone, ii. 172, seqq.

[l] Gul. App. i. 232; Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Gibbon, v. 326, seqq.; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 173-4.

[m] Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Planck, iii. 370.

[n] Pagi, xvi. 546.

[o] Schmidt, ii. 231-4; Giesebr. ii. 218-25.

[p] Wippo, Vita Chŭonradi, c. 2. ap. Pertz, xi.; Stenzel, i. 8-14; Luden, viii. 17-24. By this Piligrin hoped to supersede the influence of the primate Aribo, who had crowned Conrad at Mentz, but had refused to crown Gisela. Giesebr. ii. 226-8.

[q] "Sella Chuonradi habet ascensoria Caroli;" or, in poetical form,

"Chounradus Caroli premit ascensoria regis." *Wippo*, 6.

It was now considered that the kingdom of Italy depended on Germany, and that the German sovereign was entitled to the empire, but was not actually emperor until his coronation at Rome.[r] In 1026 Conrad was crowned as king of Italy at Milan by the archbishop Heribert.[s] He was met by the pope at Como, and, after having suppressed a formidable insurrection at Ravenna, he received the imperial crown at Rome on Easter-day 1027.[t] The ceremony was rendered more imposing by the presence of two kings—Canute of England and Denmark,[u] who had undertaken a pilgrimage, and returned with a grant of privileges for the English church ;[x] and Rodolph of Provence, to whose dominions Conrad succeeded in 1032, by virtue of a compact which had been made between the king and the late emperor.[y] From Rome Conrad proceeded into the south, where he received the oath of fealty from the local princes, bestowed fresh grants on the Normans, and took measures for organizing a resistance to the Greeks.[z]

On the death of John XIX., in 1033, the Tusculan party appointed to the popedom his cousin Theophylact, a boy of ten or twelve years of age.[a] But this extravagant stretch of their power resulted in its overthrow. The young pope, who styled himself Benedict IX., appeared to be intent on renewing the worst infamies of the preceding

[r] Pagi, xvi. 558 ; Hallam, M. A. i. 22-4. Henry II., until crowned by the pope, styled himself *King of the Romans*, (Diplom. 60-1, Patrol. cxxxix. ; Cenni, ib. xcviii. 664), and such became the practice. Poggio objects to it, as giving the idea that *rex* was a lower title than *imperator*. Hist. Florent. in Murat. xx. 381.

[s] Luden, viii. 45.

[t] Wippo, 13-16.

[u] He was not yet king of Norway (Thorpe, n. on Flor. Vigorn. i. 185). The English writers place Canute's visit to Rome in 1031 ; but Wippo, a contemporary, seems preferable as authority. See the Mon. Hist. Brit. 429, 821.

[x] Wilkins, i. 297.

[y] Rodolph for a time attempted to set aside the compact, on the ground that it had been made with Henry, not as king of the Germans, but as his nephew and natural heir. Luden, viii. 32 ; Giesebr. ii. 144-6, 232, 272-80.

[z] Wippo, 17 ; Luden, viii. 54.

[a] Baron. 1033. 5-8.

century; his shameless debaucheries, although they have been questioned, are established on the testimony of one of his successors—Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who in 1086 ascended the papal chair as Victor III.[b]

Conrad had chiefly owed his Italian kingdom to the influence of Heribert archbishop of Milan, who had opposed the attempt of the nobles to set up a French rival, Odo of Champagne.[c] The archbishop relied on the interest which he had thus established, and, elated by his spiritual dignity, by his secular power, and by the success which had attended his undertakings, he behaved with great violence in the commotions of the country.[d] These had become very serious. While the nobles cried out against the bishops, their own retainers, or *valvassors*,[e] rose against them; bloody conflicts took place, and Conrad, at Heribert's invitation, again went into Italy for the purpose of investigating the cause of the troubles.[f] In an assembly at Pavia, the nobles charged the archbishop with having deprived many of them of their fiefs, and with having invited their vassals to insurrection; and Heribert, instead of attempting to clear himself, addressed the emperor with such insolence that an order was given for his arrest. No Italian would dare to touch him; but the Germans were less scrupulous, and he was carried off as a prisoner.[g] The national feeling of the

A.D. 1037.

[b] Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853. Mr. Lea (on Sacerdotal Celibacy, 186) gives from Ludewig's Reliquiæ Msctorum., xii. 145, a story that Benedict after death appeared in the form of a bear, and with the ears and tail of an ass, declaring that, as his life had been beastly, he was condemned to wear the shape of a beast until the judgment-day, after which he was to be plunged into hell.

[c] Wippo, 7; Arnulf. Mediol. ii. 2 (Pertz, viii.); Giesebr. ii. 313, seqq.

[d] Arnulf, *ii.* 10; Stenzel, i. 59. See Leo, Gesch. v. Italien, i. 401-2.

[e] See Murat. Ann. VI. i. 139; Savigny, iii. 105; iv. 478.

[f] Herm. Contract. Ann. 1035; Wippo, 34; Arnulf, ii. 12.

[g] Landulf. sen. ii. 22; Annales Magdeb. ap. Pertz, xvi. 171; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 145; Stenzel, i. 61; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 77-8; Luden, viii. 111-16; Giesebr. ii. 629. Heribert himself refers to this capture in a deed of gift to a monastery. Ughelli, iv. 103.

Italians was shocked by such an act against so eminent a prince of the church; even the archbishop's enemies shared in the general indignation and alarm, while his partisans, by means of the clergy and monks, industriously agitated the multitudes. Long trains of penitents in sackcloth and ashes swept solemnly through the streets, and filled the churches with their litanies, imploring St. Ambrose to deliver his flock.[h] The guardians to whose care Heribert had been committed allowed him to escape; he returned to Milan, and held out the city against the emperor, who, finding himself unable to take it, desolated the surrounding country.[i] Conrad found it convenient to ally himself with pope Benedict, who had lately been expelled by the Romans, and whom, in other circumstances, he would have avoided with disgust; an anathema was uttered against Heribert for his rebellion, and the pope sanctioned the nomination of one of the imperial chaplains to the see of Milan.[k] But both clergy and people adhered to the archbishop, who now offered the crown of Italy to Odo of Champagne. The tempting proposal induced Odo to relinquish an expedition which he had made into Conrad's Lotharingian territory, and to set out towards the Alps; but he was intercepted and killed by Gozzelo, duke of Lorraine, and the emperor became undisputed master of Lombardy.[l] The pope, in reward for his services, was conducted to Rome and reinstated in his office by Conrad; and the vices which he had before displayed were now rendered more odious by the addition of tyrannical cruelty towards those who had opposed him.[m]

After having again visited the south of Italy, the emperor returned to Germany, with health shaken by a

[h] Landulf, ii. 22.

[i] Herm. Contract. A.D. 1037 (Pertz, v.); Wippo, 35; Arnulf, ii. 13-14.

[k] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1038; Annal. Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 680-1; Rupert. Tuit. Chron. S. Laurent. Leod. in Patrol clxx. 689.

[l] Herm. A.D. 1037; Arnulf, ii. 14.

[m] Luden, viii. 127, 193; Gfrörer, 384.

sickness which had been fatal to many of his followers. The last months of his life were spent in travelling over various parts of his dominions; and at Arles, in the autumn of 1038, he republished a law which he had before promulgated at Milan, and which became the foundation of the feudal law of Europe—that the inferior vassals, instead of being removable at the will of their lords, should possess a hereditary tenure, which was to be forfeited only in case of a condemnation for felony pronounced against them by the judgment of their equals.[n] On the 4th of June 1039, Conrad died at Utrecht.[o] Heribert found means of once more establishing himself in Milan,[p] was reconciled with Conrad's successor, Henry III., and held the see, although not without much disquiet from the contentions between the nobles and the popular party, until his death in 1045.[q]

In 1044 Benedict was again driven from Rome, and John, bishop of Sabina, was set up in his room, under the name of Sylvester III. Within three months, however, Benedict was able to expel his rival; and—induced, according to one account, by love for the daughter of a nobleman who refused to allow the marriage except on condition of his vacating the papacy—he sold his interest in it to John Gratian, a presbyter who enjoyed a high

[n] Pertz, Leges, ii. 39, or Patrol. cli. 1043; Giannone, ii. 168; Sismondi, iv. 228; Luden, viii. 121. The enactment of Milan is referred by some to 1026, but was more probably in 1037. See Sismondi, R. I. i. 74; Hallam, M. A. i. 118.

[o] Wippo, 39.

[p] It was at this time that the archbishop adapted the *carroccio*, which had before been used in religious processions, to the purpose of a military standard, in which character it afterwards became famous. Arnulf describes it as a lofty pole fixed on a carriage, with two white flags pendant from a golden apple at the top of the pole, and midway a figure of the Saviour on the cross, with extended arms, "ut qualiscunque foret belli eventus, hoc signo [Mediolanenses] confortarentur inspecto." ii. 16, and Bethmann's note; Giesebr. ii. 338.

[q] Annal. Saxo, ap. Pertz, vi. 684; Arnulf, ii. 15-20; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 166, etc. Wippo says that Henry III. disapproved of his father's proceedings against the archbishop, 35.

reputation for austerity of life. But Benedict was disappointed in his love, and resumed his pretensions to the see, so that Rome was divided between three popes—"three devils," as they are styled by an unceremonious writer of the century[r]—each of them holding possession of one of the principal churches—St. John Lateran, St. Peter's, and St. Mary Major.[s] Benedict was supported by the Tusculan party, and Sylvester by a rival faction of nobles, while Gratian, who had assumed the name of Gregory VI., was the pope of the people.[t] The state of things was miserable; revenues were alienated or inter-

[r] Benzo, IV. vii. 2 (Pertz, xi. 670).

[s] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1044; Bonizo, 801; Desiderius (Victor III.), Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853); Döllinger, i. 432; Luden, viii. 636; Milman, ii. 426: etc. Here again Bayle's remark, quoted at p. 30, will apply. Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, states that Benedict, on account of his ignorance, caused another to be consecrated with him for the performance of the ecclesiastical offices; and that, as this arrangement offended many persons, a third pope was set up instead of the two. (De Investitura Episcoporum, ap. Schard. 74.) Otho of Freising (vi. 32, ap. Urstis. t. i.) says that, after three popes—Benedict, Sylvester, and a presbyter named John—were already set up, Gratian bought himself in as a *fourth*—allowing Benedict to retain the revenue from England. This story is followed by Baronius (1044. 11), Chacon (i. 781), and Planck (iii. 381-6), but is generally considered erroneous (Pagi, xvi. 659; Giesel. II. i. 226). Bonizo (801) places the setting up of Sylvester later than that of Gratian. Luden, who chiefly follows Bonizo, thinks that the nobles opposed to the Tusculan party, wishing to get rid of Benedict, fixed on John Gratian as the fittest person for the popedom; but that he, judging the time unfavourable to the interest of the nobles (more especially as Henry III. had just, in opposition to that class, promoted a clerk of humble birth, named Guy, to Milan), resolved to rely on the people, and bought their suffrages; that when Benedict had been persuaded to retire (partly from a feeling of his unfitness for the office), John was chosen by the acclamation of the people; that the nobles, finding themselves deceived in him, set up Sylvester; and the Tusculans, conceiving from the rivalry of the other parties a hope of re-establishing their own interest, again put Benedict forward (viii. 193-4). Gfrörer, as usual, has a theory which is also in some degree countenanced by Giesebrecht (ii. 412-13)—that John Gratian was an instrument of the reforming monastic party, headed by Odilo of Cluny; and that the money which he spent was supplied by an association, founded by William, late duke of Aquitaine, which aimed at rendering the church independent of the secular power (iv. 387, 395-401). Jaffé dates the expulsion of Benedict within the first seven days of January 1044; the setting-up of Sylvester, about Feb. 22; his expulsion by Benedict on April 10; the sale to Gratian on May 1

[t] Gfrörer, iv. 385.

cepted, churches fell into ruin, and disorders of every kind prevailed.[u]

That Gregory was regarded with ardent hope by the reforming party in the church appears from a letter written on his elevation by Peter Damiani, a person who became very conspicuous in the later history of the time.[x] But it is said that the urgency of circumstances obliged him to devote himself to expeditions against the Saracens and the robber chiefs who impoverished the Roman treasury by plundering pilgrims of the gifts intended for it; and that on this account the Romans provided him with an assistant for the spiritual functions of his office.[y] The scandalous condition of affairs cried aloud for some remedy, and Peter, archdeacon of Rome, went into Germany to request the intervention of Henry III., the son and successor of Conrad.[z] The king resolved to set aside all the claimants of the apostolic chair,[a] and, before setting out for Italy, he gave a token of the course which he intended to pursue by citing before him and depriving Widgers, who had been encouraged by the disorders of Rome to thrust himself into the archbishoprick of Ravenna.[b] At Parma he assembled a council, but, as no pope was present, the investigation into the pretensions of the rivals was adjourned.[c] Gregory met the king at Piacenza, and by his desire convened a second council at Sutri.[d] The other claimants of the papacy were cited, but did not appear; Benedict, who

Dec. 20, 1046.

[u] Döllinger, i. 433.

[x] Ep. i. 1.

[y] W. Malmesb. l. ii. c. 201; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 116. See Murat. Ann. VI. i. 178; Milman, ii. 427; see too, Joh. Petrib. ap. Sparke, 80.

[z] Bonizo, 801. The Saxon annalist gives a rhyming prayer, as having been addressed to Henry by a hermit:—

"Una Sunamitis nupsit tribus maritis.
Rex Henrice, Omnipotentis vice,
Solve connubium, triforme, dubium!"
Pertz, vi. 687.

Cf. Annal. Palidens., ib. xvi. 68.

[a] Victor. III. Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853)

[b] Gesta Epp. Leodiens. (Patrol. cxlii. 747); Luden, viii. 297.

[c] Döllinger, i. 433.

[d] Bonizo, 801; Luden,

had retired to a monastery, was not mentioned in the proceedings; Sylvester was declared to be an intruder, was deposed from the episcopate and the priesthood, and condemned to be shut up in a cloister. Gregory, who presided over the council, and had perhaps shared in inviting Henry's interference, was then, to his astonishment, desired to relate the circumstances of his own elevation. With the simplicity which is described as a part of his character,[e] he avowed the use of bribery (which was perhaps too notorious to be denied); but he said that as, in consideration of his repute, large sums of money had been bestowed on him, which he had intended to expend on pious objects, he had been led to employ a part of them in this manner by a wish to rescue the holy see from the tyranny of the nobles, from its calamities and disgrace. Some members of the council suggested to him that the use of such means was unwarrantable. At these words a new light broke in on the pope; he acknowledged that he had been deceived by the enemy, and requested the bishops to advise him.[f] According to one account, they answered that he would do better to judge himself: whereupon he confessed himself unworthy of the papacy, and stripped off his robes in the presence of the council.[g] Other writers state that he was warned to anticipate a deprivation by resigning; while, according to a third statement, he was deposed.[h] The papacy was vacant; and Henry proceeded to fill it with a pope of his own selection.

[e] Bonizo, 802.

[f] Ib.

[g] Victor, Dial. 3 (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853).

[h] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1046. See Nat. Alex. xiii. 10; Planck, iii. 387-9; Schmidt, ii. 253; Döllinger, i. 433; Luden, viii. 202; Giesel. II. i. 227; and the ingenious theories of Gfrörer, v. 424.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BRITISH CHURCHES—MISSIONS OF THE TENTH AND ELEVENTH CENTURIES.

I. THE most remarkable subject in the religious history of England between the death of Alfred and the Norman conquest is the struggle between the monks and the secular clergy. The distaste for monachism which had grown up among the Anglo-Saxons has been mentioned in a former chapter.[a] The long continued invasions of the Danes contributed to the decline of the system, not only by laying waste a multitude of religious houses and butchering or dispersing their inmates, but by compelling men to study almost exclusively the arts of self-preservation and self-defence.[b] Thus the monastic life became extinct in England; and when Alfred attempted to revive it by founding a monastery for men at Athelney and one for women at Shaftesbury, it was found that, although Shaftesbury prospered under the government of one of the king's own daughters, no Englishman of noble or free birth could be persuaded to embrace the monastic profession; so that Alfred was obliged to stock his establishment at Athelney with monks and children from abroad.[c]

In some of the religious houses which had suffered from the Danish ravages, a new class of inmates established themselves. Perhaps (as has been suggested) many of them were persons who had belonged to those inferior orders of the clergy which were not bound to celibacy. Such persons may, in the scarcity of other clerks, have been raised by bishops to the higher degrees,

[a] Vol. iii. p. 227.
[b] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 259.
[c] Asser, in Mon. Hist. Brit. 493-5

without being required to forsake their wives; and the practice thus begun may have been extended to a general neglect of enforcing celibacy on the ministers of the church.[d] From this and other causes it came to pass that the monasteries were occupied by a married clergy, among whom, without accepting too literally the gross accusations of their enemies, we may reasonably believe that there was much of irregularity and of worldly-mindedness.[e] The monastic life, properly so called, was no longer followed; the Englishmen who wished to lead such a life either withdrew to lonely hermitages or betook themselves to foreign monasteries, among which that of Fleury on the Loire—lately reformed by Odo of Cluny, after having fallen into an utter decay of discipline[f]—was the most favourite resort.[g] Such was the state of things when Dunstan entered on his career of reform.

Dunstan was born about the year 925, of noble parentage, in the neighbourhood of Glastonbury—a place which enjoyed a peculiar veneration, not only on account of the legends which made it the scene of the first preaching of Christianity in Britain by Joseph of Arimathea,[h] but also from later associations. The fame of St. Patrick was fabulously connected with Glastonbury; it was even said to be his burying-place, and on account of this connexion it was much frequented by Irish, some of whom lived there in the practice of strict devotion, although not bound by any monastic rule, and drew a large number of pupils from the surrounding country.[i]

[d] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 252-4.

[e] See Kemble, ii. 454-7.

[f] A.D. 930. Mabill. Annal. iii. 400-1.

[g] Vita Odonis, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 291; Vita Abbonis, ib. viii. 36; Gerv. Dorob. ap. Twysden, 1645; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 262.

[h] W. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glaston. Ecclesiæ, Patrol. clxxix. 1683. See Collier, i. 15, seqq. Glastonbury was the only British foundation which had retained its sanctity in Anglo-Saxon times. Palgrave, 'Anglo-Sax. Commonwealth,' i. 152.

[i] Will. Malmesb. l. c., 1688; Gesta Regum, 22; Acta SS., Feb. 1, p. 107; Mart. 17, p. 528. See Villanueva's edition of St. Patrick, 294-7, and the

Under these masters Dunstan became a proficient in the learning of the time, and acquired extraordinary accomplishments in calligraphy, painting, sculpture, music, mechanics, and the art of working in metals, so that his skill and ingenuity brought on him the charge of magic.[k] His earlier history abounds in details of rigid asceticism, in tales of strange miracles, of encounters with devils, and of fierce mental conflicts.[l] Having been introduced at the court of king Edmund, he received from him the church of Glastonbury, with a grant of new privileges; and he erected a magnificent abbey, which he filled with Benedictine monks—the first of their kind who had been seen in England for two hundred years.[m] Dunstan acquired high office and powerful influence in the state. We are familiar from childhood with some version of the story of his contest with Edwy "the All-fair"—how on the coronation-day he forcibly dragged the king from the society of Ethelgiva, and compelled him to rejoin the boisterous festivity of his nobles;[n]

A.D. 956-9.

notes; Bridfert. Vita Dunst. 5 (Patrol. cxxxix.), where the Glastonbury saint is said to have been Patrick the younger.

[k] Osbern, ap. Wharton, ii. pp. 92-5. See for Dunstan the Acta SS., May 19.

[l] Osbern, 96, seqq. The most famous of his victories over the devil, although placed by local tradition at the archiepiscopal residence of Mayfield, where "St. Dunstan's anvil, hammer, and tongs" are still exhibited (Murray's Handbook for Kent and Sussex, ed. 1, p. 231), belongs to the time when he was a monk of Glastonbury. Osbern, c. 14.

[m] W. Malmesb. G. R. 143. Osbern (100) has misled some writers into supposing that they were the first who had ever appeared in England. See Wharton, ii. 91-2; Kemble, ii. 451-2.

[n] As to the controversy respecting Ethelgiva's character and position, I shall content myself with saying that the coarse language which Dr. Lingard (A. S. C. ii. 274-5, 445-7) quotes from monkish writers, as proving that she was not queen, but a woman of loose reputation, is nothing more than such writers would have applied to any woman whose marriage was a breach of the extravagant prohibitions then established—as Dr. Lingard must have very well known (see Theiner, i. 541-2). There is also much disingenuousness in Dr. Lingard's account of the later story (ii. 277-8). See Turner, Hist. Anglos. ii. 252; Lappenb. ii. 132; Milman, iii. 20. The clearness and fairness of Mr. Hallam (M. A. i. 516; Suppl. Notes, 185) present a striking contrast to the Romanist historian's artifices. In the Supplemental Notes, Mr. Hallam comes nearer than before to the common story. Mr. Soames, who here takes an unexpected line, is favourable to Odo, on the strength of his scanty

the expulsion of the monks by Edwy from Glastonbury and Abingdon, the only monasteries which then belonged to them; the exile of Dunstan, and his triumphant return as a partisan of the king's brother Edgar, who forced Edwy to a partition of the kingdom, and soon after became sovereign of the whole. Under Edgar, Dunstan enjoyed an unlimited power. In 958 he obtained the bishoprick of Worcester, to which in the following year that of London was added; and in 960 he was advanced to the primacy of Canterbury, as successor of his friend and supporter Odo.[o] He received the pall at Rome from John XII.,[p] and, with the approbation of the pope and of the king, he began a reform of the clergy. Edgar, whose co-operation was exacted as a part of the penance incurred by his having carried off a novice or pupil from the nunnery of Wilton,[q] is said to have inveighed at a council in the severest terms against the corruptions of the seculars.[r] The sees of Worcester and Winchester were filled with two of the archbishop's most zealous partisans—Oswald, a nephew of the late primate,[s] and Ethelwold, abbot of Abingdon, who was styled "the father of monks," and was a confidential adviser of the king.[t] Seculars were ejected wherever it was possible; all the higher preferment was exclusively bestowed on the regulars; monks were brought from Fleury and other foreign monasteries, to fill the places of the expelled clergy, and

remains (Patrol. cxxxiii.), and even palliates the hamstringing of the queen! (182-7). Dean Hook's belief (i. 380), that Odo was dead when this took place, seems open to question.

[o] W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. (Patrol. clxxix 1453); Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 281-2.

[p] Joh. XII. Ep. 9 (Patrol. cxxxiii.); Bridfert. Vita Dunst. 27-8.

[q] Osbern, 111.

[r] The speech ascribed to him (which may be found in Aelred, ap. Twysden, 360, or in Wilkins, i. 246) is probably a later invention. See Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 288.

[s] See his Life in the Acta SS., Feb. 29.

[t] Saxon Chron. A.D. 984; Flor Wigorn. i. 139; Hist Abingdon, ed Stevenson (Chr. and Mem.), i. 356 Ethelwold, like Dunstan, was famous for his mechanical skill, and was expert in bell-founding.

to serve as examples to the English of the true monastic life.[u] The canons of Winchester are described by Ethelwold's biographer as sunk in luxury and licentiousness; they refused to perform the offices of the church, and it is said that, not content with marrying, they indulged themselves in the liberty of changing their wives at pleasure.[v] The bishop, armed with a special authority from the pope, John XIII., summoned them to appear before himself and a commissioner from the king. Throwing down on the floor a number of monastic cowls, he required the clergy either to put on these or to quit their preferments. Three only complied, and the rest were dismissed with pensions from the property of the church.[w] The reformation of Worcester was effected by means of another kind. Oswald, with a company of monks, established in the city a service which rivalled that of the cathedral. The people flocked to the new comers; and the canons of the cathedral, finding themselves deserted, were reduced to acquiesce in the bishop's measures.[x] In other parts of his diocese, however, Oswald purged the monasteries by a forcible expulsion of the married clergy, and established monks in their room.[y] During the reign of Edgar, forty-seven monasteries were founded, restored, or recovered from the secular clergy. The monks were governed by a rule

[u] Hist. Abingd. ii. 259; Theiner, i. 549. Fleury also contributed to the advancement of learning in England. See the Life of Abbo, who was invited by Oswald, and taught at Ramsey, cc. 4-6 (Patrol. cxxxix. 390-3). Cardinal Pitra says that Abbo "n'eut besoin que de trois ans pour créer en Angleterre des écoles de mathématiciens qui, cinquante ans après lui, le disputaient aux plus florissantes de la France, et l'emportaient sur celle des Arabes à Cordoue." (Etudes sur les Actes des SS., xciii.). But for this no reference is given.

[v] Vita Ethelw. ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 602.

[w] Ib. 603; Joh. XIII. ad Edgar. ap. Hard. vi. 640; Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 291; Kemble, ii. 461. The old biographer says that some of the seculars attempted to poison Ethelwold, but that he escaped by exerting his faith in the promise, Mark xvi. 18. Mabill. l. c.; Hist. Abingd. ii. 261.

[x] Eadmer. ap. Wharton, ii. 209.

[y] Vita, 7.

modified from that of St. Benedict, and chiefly derived from Fleury.[z]

Under the next king, Edward the Martyr, a reaction appeared to be threatened. Some noblemen expelled the regulars from monasteries situated on their lands, and reinstated the seculars with their wives and children.[a] Councils were held for the consideration of the matter. At Winchester, Dunstan is said to have gained a victory by means of a crucifix which uttered words forbidding the proposed change.[b] At Calne, where the cause of the seculars was eloquently pleaded by a Scottish or Irish bishop named Beornhelm, Dunstan solemnly told the assembly that he committed the cause of his church to God—on which, it is said, the floor of the hall in which the council was assembled immediately gave way; some were killed and many were severely hurt; while the archbishop and the friends who surrounded him were saved by the firmness of the beam over which they stood.[c] The story of the speaking crucifix appears to be a fiction;[d] the other may be explained without the supposition either that a miracle was wrought in behalf of Dunstan, or that he deliberately contrived a fraud which involved the death or bodily injury of his opponents.[e] The regular clergy got the victory

A.D. 975-8.

[z] Hist. Abingd. i. 121, 344; Lingard' A. S. C. ii. 299.

[a] Flor. Wigorn. A.D. 975.

[b] Osbern, 112; Wilkins, i. 261. Southey refers this to ventriloquism. Vindiciæ, 258.

[c] Osbern, 112; Chron. Sax. A.D. 978. Some writers say that Dunstan alone escaped. See the quotations in Turner's Appendix.

[d] Soames, 202-3.

[e] Fuller (i. 106), Southey (Vindiciæ, 254), and Dean Milman (iii. 20), point to the archbishop's known skill in mechanical contrivances as suspicious. Mr. Turner condemns him (Hist. Ang.-Sax. ii. 273-4, and Append. to B. vi. c. 7), but Mr. Soames is disposed to acquit him (205). Sir J. Mackintosh argues that a contrivance was very improbable (i. 55). Dr. Lappenberg points out that, according to Florence and the Saxon Chronicle, the sufferers were not the secular clergy (the objects of Dunstan's enmity), but the nobles of the realm (i. 415); and parallels have been produced—as that of a diet at Erfurt, in 1184 (Annal. Pegav. ap. Pertz, xvi. 265; Albert. Stad. ib. 560; Arnold. Lubec. iv. 14).

for the time, but it was very imperfectly carried out. With the exception of Worcester and Winchester, no cathedrals were reformed. Dunstan, although he lived to 988,[f] made no attempt to introduce a change at Canterbury—whether it were that he was afraid to venture on such a work, or that reform appeared less necessary there than elsewhere;[g] and his coadjutor Oswald, on being translated to the archbishoprick of York, held that see for twenty years (972-992) without disturbing the seculars of his province.[h] The renewal of the Danish invasions diverted the general attention from such matters. Canterbury was transferred to monks by archbishop Aelfric, in 1003;[i] but the other cathedrals remained in possession of the seculars until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, and throughout the kingdom the triumph of the one or of the other party depended on their strength in each locality.[k] At the council of

and an English assize in the last century (Churton, 250); to which may be added one which occurred on a visit of Pius IX. to the church of St. Agnes, near Rome, in 1855, and which is there commemorated by a ludicrous picture. That the sinking of the floor is said to have taken place immediately after Dunstan had appealed to heaven (a circumstance on which Turner and Southey much rely) may possibly be an exaggeration of a very familiar sort; and, if so, the suspicion of contrivance is greatly weakened. Dr. Lingard, with needless unfairness, gives a turn to the story by representing the Saxon Chronicle as stating that Dunstan escaped by *catching at* a beam. This is, indeed, countenanced by the version which Dr. Lingard quotes from Henry of Huntingdon—"trabe quadam *apprehensa*" (A. S. C. ii. 302); but, as appears from more accurate translations, the Chronicler really says that the archbishop *stood, supported himself*, or *was stayed on* a beam. For this, see Gibson, in Turner, ii. 281-2; Stevenson, n. on Sax. Chron. 73; Thorpe's transl. p. 99; and on the general question, Collier, i. 469; Palgrave, Hist. Anglos. 280; Martineau, 195.

[f] Pagi, xvi. 290.

[g] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 289.

[h] Ib. 290. See Raine, i. 124. For the small extent and short duration of the reform, see Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Stat. Eccl. Scot. ccxiv. seqq.

[i] Wilkins, i. 282; Sax. Chron. A.D. 995; Lingard, ii. 294; Thorn, ap. Twysd. 1781. Florence of Worcester ascribes the change to Abp. Sigeric, A.D. 990 (i. 149. See W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. p. 32, ed. Hamilton). After the massacre of monks, with archbishop Alphege, by the Danes, in 1012, the discipline of Canterbury again decayed. (Gervas. in Twysd. 1650). Soon after the conquest an attempt was unsuccessfully made to eject the monks. See Alex. II. Ep. 144 (Patrol. cxlvii.).

[k] Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 325-6.

Enham, in 1009, it was laid down that all marriage of the clergy is improper; but the council seems to have practically contented itself with attempting to suppress the greater evils which had arisen from such prohibitions—that clerks took more than one wife at a time, or discarded one for another.[l] The secular clergy of England continued to marry, and their issue was regarded as legitimate.[m]

II. In common with other western countries, Ireland suffered severely from the ravages of the Northmen,[n] and in resistance to these enemies the clergy frequently took to arms.[o] Favoured by the discords of the native chiefs, the Danes made extensive settlements in Ireland; their princes were established at Dublin, Limerick, and Waterford—the last of these a town altogether of their own foundation.[p] Various tribes of Northmen contended for the possession of Dublin. But the power of the strangers was weakened by their internal feuds, and was at length irrecoverably broken at the great battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday 1014, where Brian Boru, king of all Ireland, fell at the age of eighty-eight in leading on his countrymen to victory.[q] Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, however, still remained in possession of the Danes.

The Danes (or *Ostmen*) of Dublin were gradually converted to Christianity. They would not, About A.D. 1040. however, receive bishops from the Irish, but

[l] C. 5 (Thorpe, 134). See Milman, iii. 21.

[m] Theiner, ii. 570. As to the character of Dunstan, see Lappenberg, i. 416-17; Kemble, ii. 449, 459, 460. His labours to revive learning deserve to be mentioned to his credit (Lingard, A. S. C. ii. 310; Neander, vi. 93); and also the firmness with which he resisted the pope in a matter of discipline (see below, c. ix. iii. 8). Dean Hook justly praises his ability as a statesman. i. 410.

[n] See Lanigan, iii. 270, seqq. 346, 366, 373, etc.; King, 379, seqq.

[o] Ib. 386.

[p] Ib. 389.

[q] Lanigan, iii. 421; King, 415.

sought consecration for their pastors from the English church, with which their own race had become closely connected.[r] And it was by means of this Danish intercourse with England that Ireland was for the first time brought into connexion with the Roman church.[s]

III. The obscurity which hangs over the church-history of Scotland during this period has been lamented by all who have made that history the special subject of their inquiries.[t] The ancient chronicles have perished, and the story, instead of resting, as elsewhere, on the satisfactory evidence of contemporary narratives, must be sought out and pieced together by the laborious industry and the doubtful guesses of the antiquary. Scotland was much infested by the Danes, who succeeded in establishing themselves in the country to such a degree that a large Scandinavian element may to this day be traced among its population.[u] In 806, they attacked Iona, where sixty-eight of the monks were slain;[x] and it appears that, in consequence of the dangers to which St. Columba's island sanctuary was exposed, Kenneth III. in 849 translated the patron's relics, and removed the seat of the Scottish primacy, to Dunkeld.[y] From that time the abbots of Dunkeld exercised the same authority over the church which had before been vested in the

[r] Lanfranc. Epp. 36-8.

[s] King, 420. Lanigan dates the conversion of these Danes in 948, and the beginning of their connexion with Canterbury after the Norman conquest.

[t] *E.g.*, Russell, i. 89; Grub, i. 224. The reader will see how much I am indebted to Dr. Grub's learned work. His sources are, in great part, such as I could not have attempted to explore; and he seems to have gathered from them all that has yet been discovered. [The oldest materials have lately been collected in Mr. Skene's 'Chronicles of Picts and Scots,' Edinburgh, 1867; but their scantiness and the large mixture of fable which is unmistakable in them render them of little use except to readers who make Scottish history their special study.]

[u] See Worsaae's 'Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland,' London, 1852.

[x] Grub, i. 125; T. Innes, 110-11.

[y] Grub, i. 129, Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 142-4.

abbots of Iona; but the abbot of Iona continued to be the head of the Columbite order of monks.[z] About 905 it is believed that Dunkeld itself became unsafe, and that the primacy was translated to St. Andrews;[a] and in this more permanent seat it acquired a character more nearly resembling the primacy of other countries, by being vested in the bishops of St. Andrews, who were styled "Episcopi Scotorum," while the other bishops of the kingdom were subject to them in the same manner as they had formerly been to the successors of Columba in Iona and Dunkeld.[b]

In the absence of certain information, writers of Scottish history have freely indulged in fables and wild conjectures. Nor has the national fondness for claiming eminent men as our countrymen been limited to those cases in which the ambiguous term *Scotus* might give some plausibility to the claim—such as that of the philosopher John, whose other designation, *Erigena*, has been interpreted as meaning a native of Ayr![c] Thus it has been attempted, in opposition to clear historical evidence, to maintain that Alcuin was a Scotsman;[d] that Einhard, the biographer of Charlemagne, was a Scot whose real name was Kineard;[e] that Raban Maur was a Scot, and a monk of Melrose;[f] and even one of the more critical writers, although he grants the English birth of Alcuin, yet imagines that in the same age there was another Albinus,[g] a native of Scotland, to whom he ascribes the authorship of the Caroline Books.[h]

It is unnecessary here to go into a controversy which has been waged as to a class of ecclesiastics styled

[z] Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 161.
[a] Ib. 166.
[b] Ib. 148, 172; Stuart, Pref. to 'Book of Deer,' cii., cxxvii.
[c] Dempster, 42, ed. Bannatyne Club; Spottiswoode, i. 93. See Ware, Antiq. of Ireland, 4-8; Writers of Ireland, 59.
[d] Spottisw. i. 42.
[e] Dempst. 414.
[f] Ib. 545.
[g] Alcuin is sometimes so called.
[h] Skinner, i. 142.

Culdees,[l] in whom a precedent has been sought for the presbyterian form of church-government. Their name, which signifies *servants of God*—a designation specially restricted to monks,[k]—is first found in Ireland;[l] and the Culdees of Scotland appear to have been in reality a species of monks, who usually lived together in societies of twelve, with a prior at the head of each. Their discipline, originally strict, became relaxed in consequence of the Danish invasions, and through the natural course of monastic institutions, so that they married, and transmitted their endowments to their children.[m] But so far were they from rejecting the episcopal polity, that in many cases they were attached to cathedrals (as in the archiepiscopal church of York);[n] and in some places, as at St. Andrews, they claimed a share in the election of the bishops.[o] At St. Andrews they retained until the twelfth century the Scottish or Irish ritual, which had been used at York until the time of Alcuin[p]—celebrating their services in a retired corner of the church;[q] but, notwithstanding this and other peculiarities, the contentions which are recorded between such societies and bishops did not relate to any difference in religion, but to questions of property or privileges.[r]

[l] For late notices of the Culdees, see Dr. Reeves' very learned dissertation (Transact. of Royal Irish Academy), Dubl. 1864; Acta Sanctorum, Oct. t. viii. 164-8; Joseph Robertson, Introd. to Concilia Scotiæ, 204, seqq.; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 175, seqq. For an account of the controversy, which was begun by Blondel, Reeves, 67, seqq.

[k] Ib. 1-2.

[l] A.D. 792, Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 175; cf. Reeves, n. on Adamnan, 368; Grub. i. 219. It occurs at Armagh so late as 1628, in the sense of *vicar-choral*. Reeves. 17-18.

[m] Grub, i. 230. As to the question of their marriage, see Grub, i. 237-9; T. Innes, 111; Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 178.

[n] Hist. Fundationis Hospitalis S. Leonardi Ebor., in Monast. Angl. vi. 608; Raine, i. 154; Reeves, 59.

[o] Stuart, cxx.-i. It was not until 1273 that they were debarred from this at St Andrew's, and they struggled to recover it afterwards. Reeves, 40; Grub, i. 343; see Theiner, 'Monumenta,' 53, 67. Lanigan (iv. 301) wrongly styles them secular canons. Stuart, cxxii.

[p] See vol. iii. p. 231.

[q] "Keledei namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant." Hist. S. Andr. in Skene, 190; Reeves 109.

[r] See Goodall's Dissertation, prefixed to Keith's Catal. of Scottish

IV. The Greek church in this period extended its communion by the conversion of a nation destined to play an important part in later history—the Russians.

The ruling tribe of Russia were Scandinavians or Northmen, who, while their kinsmen infested the countries of the west, carried their adventurous arms into the vast territory which lies to the south-east of their original seats.[s] The first mention of them in history is under the year 839, when some Russians, who had been sent to Constantinople, accompanied the eastern emperor's ambassadors to the court of Lewis the Pious.[t] In 864 the Russian monarchy was founded by Rurik.[u] The northern conquerors gradually enlarged their boundaries; their race intermingled with the older inhabitants of the country, and their Teutonic language was forgotten. They became known to the Greeks by commerce carried on across the Euxine, and by repeated attempts which they made to get possession of Constantinople.[x] Some of Rurik's companions, leaving him in possession of his conquests, proceeded to the eastern capital, where they entered into the imperial service; and the *Varangian* guard, which was thus formed, was recruited by adventurers of kindred race from England and the Scandinavian countries.[y]

The story of the first introduction of Christianity into Russia is embellished by fable.[z] According to the Greek

Bishops, with the additions in Russell's edition (Edinb. 1824); Skinner, i. 161; Russell, i. 67; Giesel. II. ii. 231; Döllinger, ii. 102; Lanigan, iv. 295, seqq.; Grub, c. xvi.; Reeves, 37, seqq.; Montalemb. iii. 310-11; Lyon, 'Hist. of St. Andrews,' c. iii.; Jos. Robertson, Pref. to Stat. Eccl. Scot., ccvi. seqq.; Stuart, cxiii. seqq.

[s] Gibbon, v. 304, with Milman's note; Strahl, i. 56, 60-3.

[t] Annal. Bertin, 839 (Patrol. cxv. 1386).

[u] Strahl, i. 63.

[x] A.D. 865-6, 904, 941. See Gibbon, v. 307-11; Strahl, i. 65.

[y] Mouravieff, 9.

[z] The chief authority for the early history is Nestor, a monk of the 11th century, whose work, written in his native language, I have used in a French translation by L. Paris. (Paris, 1834). There is also a German translation by Schlözer. The second volume for August of the Acta Sanctorum contains a dissertation by Stiltinck 'De Conversione et Fide Russorum.'

writers, Basil the Macedonian, on concluding a peace with the Russians, sent a bishop and other missionaries into their country. The bishop, in the presence of the Russian prince and nobles, dwelt on the evidence borne by miracles to the truth of the gospel revelation. They listened attentively, but answered that they would not believe unless they might themselves witness a miracle. The bishop warned them not to tempt God; but, as they had been especially struck by the story of the three youths delivered from the furnace, he proceeded to show a miracle of a similar kind. At his prayer, the book of the Gospels was cast into a fire, and after many hours it was taken out uninjured.[a]

Photius, in his letter to the oriental patriarchs,[b] states that the fierce and barbarous Russians had been converted by the Greek church. But his language greatly overstates any effect which the Christian teachers had at that time produced among them; and although his predecessor Ignatius is said to have consecrated a bishop for Russia, and to have taken measures for spreading the gospel in that country,[c] paganism was, in the middle of the following century, again all but universal among the Russians.

In 955, Olga, widow of the grand-prince Igur, and regent of Russia, appeared with a large train at Constantinople, where she was received with much honour by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, and was baptized.[d] It is uncertain whether she had undertaken the expedition in consequence of some Christian instruction which had reached her in her own land, or whether, having gone to Constantinople with a view to secular business, she there

[a] Const. Porph. v. 96; Cedren. 589; Pagi, xiv. 564.

[b] Ep. 2, p. 85. See vol. iii. p. 435.

[c] Pagi, xv. 299.

[d] Const. Porph. v. 96; Cedrenus, 636. Nestor gives fabulous detail 79-80).

received impressions which led her to seek for admission into the church.[e] Olga, who at baptism took the name of Helena, endeavoured, after her return to Novogorod, to spread her new faith among her subjects. Her son Svatoslaff, however, withstood her attempts to convert him, alleging that his nobles would despise him if he should change his religion.[f]

Vladimir, the son and successor of Svatoslaff, was importuned, it is said, by the advocates of rival religions—of Judaism, of Islam, and of Greek and Latin Christianity. He saw reason for rejecting the Jewish and Mahometan systems, and, in order that he might be able to decide between the two forms of Christianity, he sent commissioners to observe the religion of Germany, of Rome, and of Greece. When at Constantinople, they were deeply impressed by the magnificent building of the patriarchal church, and by the solemn, majestic, and touching character of the eucharistic service which they witnessed; they told the Greeks who were with them that during the performance of the rite they had seen winged youths circling through the church and chanting the *Trisagion*.[g] By the report of these envoys Vladimir was determined to adopt the Christianity of the Greeks.[h] In 988, having taken the city of Kor- A.D. 986.

[e] Neander remarks it as curious, that Constantine, while he relates very fully the ceremonial of her reception, says nothing of her baptism (v. 451). Some German writers state that Olga made an insincere application to Otho I. on the subject of Christianity, and that in consequence a bishop, named Adalbert, was sent into Russia, where he had difficulty in escaping death (Thietmar, ii. 14; Annal. Quedlinb. A.D. 960, ap. Pertz, iii.). Some would read *Rugia* (*i.e.* the island of Rügen) for *Ruscia*; but Mabillon and Pagi maintain that Russia is meant, and that Adalbert was the same who was afterwards bishop of Magdeburg. See Mabill. in Acta SS., Jun. 20, p. 28; Stiltinck, ib. Sept. t. ii. p. x.; Pagi, xv. 105; Schröckh, xxi. 515-17; Strahl, i. 95; Neand. v. 452.

[f] Nestor, i. 82-3.

[g] It would seem that they mistook the deacons and subdeacons of the church for angels. See Stanley, 357, and his reference to Bunsen, 'Christianity and Mankind,' vii. 45.

[h] The same story is by some referred to an earlier time. See Nestor, i. 122-9, 145-9; Schröckh, xxi. 511, 517-19; Mouravieff, 12, 354; Strahl, i. 107.

sun[i] from the empire, he made proposals for the hand of a Greek princess, Anna, sister of the emperor Basil II. and of Theophano, wife of Otho II. To the difficulties raised on the ground of religion, he answered that he was willing to become a Christian. His resolution was shaken by a temporary blindness, which he ascribed to the vengeance of the gods against his apostasy; but at Anna's urgent request he consented to be baptized, and his change of religion was justified by the recovery of his sight as he received the imposition of the bishop of Korsun's hands. The marriage took place forthwith, and Korsun either was restored to the empire, or became the dowry of Vladimir's bride.[k] According to Russian writers, Vladimir, who at baptism had taken the name of Basil, renounced the laxity of his former life for a strict observance of conjugal fidelity and of other Christian duties; and both he and Anna are numbered among the saints of their church.[l] The Latins,[m] however, assert that his actions did no credit to his new profession.

On his return to Kieff, the grand-prince ordered the idol of Perun, the chief Russian god, to be dragged through the streets at a horse's tail, and thrown into the Dnieper. Many of the Russians burst into tears at the sight; but when a proclamation summoned them to repair to the river next day, on pain of being regarded as rebels, the dutiful people argued that, if the proposed change of religion were not good, the prince and the nobles would not recommend it. A general baptism of the population took place. "Some," says Nestor, "stood in the water up to their necks, others up to their breasts,

[i] Apparently the *ancient* Cherson (see vol. ii. p. 273); Gibbon, v. 317; Paris, note on Nestor; Spruner, Map iv. of Europe; Mouravieff, 13; Finlay, ii. 422. Schröckh (xxi. 519) takes it for Kertch.

[k] Nestor, i. 130-4; Strahl, i. 109-10. The statements as to the disposal of Korsun appear to arise from varying translations of Nestor. See the editor's note, p. 134.

[l] Schröckh, xxi. 522-3.

[m] *E.g.*, Thietmar, vii. 52.

holding their young children in their arms; the priests read the prayers from the shore, naming at once whole companies by the same name."[n] Bishopricks were now established, churches were built on the Byzantine model by Greek architects,[o] relics were imported, schools were opened, and children were obliged to attend them, although it is said that the mothers wept, and were as much afraid to send their children for instruction as if they had been sending them to death.[p] The Scriptures, in Cyril's Slavonic version, were introduced—a fact which, in defiance of chronology, has been turned into the statement that Cyril himself laboured as a missionary among the Russians.[q]

On the death of Vladimir, in 1015, the division of his dominions among his twelve sons, and the bloody family discords which ensued, interfered with the progress of the gospel. But Yaroslaff, who at length became the sole ruler of the country, zealously carried on the work. He caused translations of some edifying Greek books to be made for the benefit of his subjects, encouraged the composition of original religious works, and even himself took part in the literary labour.[r] The 'Nomocanon,' or collection of ecclesiastical laws, by Photius, was introduced as the rule of discipline. The clergy were exempted from taxes and from civil duties; but, whereas they had until then been subject to the patriarch of Constantinople, Yaroslaff was careful to place the church on a national footing, with a native Russian for its primate.[s]

A.D. 1019-1054.

A.D. 1051.

[n] Quoted by Mourav. 15. The French translation does not very closely agree.

[o] Nestor, i. 137.

[p] Ib. 136.

[q] See Schröckh, xxi. 512, 521, etc.; Mourav. 17, 21. The story of a prince's conversion by a picture of the last judgment is transferred from the Bulgarian Bogoris to the Russian Vladimir. Mourav. 11.

[r] Nestor, i. 176-7; Strahl, i. 168, 169.

[s] Nestor, i. 179; Mourav. 20; Strahl, i. 148, 164.

V. Although Bohemia had been reckoned among Christian countries, the gospel was but very imperfectly established in it. On the death of duke Radislav, in 925, his mother Ludmilla (whose conversion has been already mentioned)[t] undertook the care of his two sons, Wenceslav and Boleslav. But the widow of Radislav, Dragomira, who was a zealous pagan, contrived that Ludmilla should be murdered—a crime to which she was instigated alike by the violence of religious enmity and by a fear of losing her share in the administration.[u] Notwithstanding his mother's efforts to turn him away from Christianity, Wenceslav was deeply devoted to it. He lived a life of the strictest sanctity, and is supposed to have been on the point of exchanging his crown for the monastic cowl when his reign was violently brought to an end. His brother Boleslav attacked him when on his way to perform his devotions in a church. Wenceslav, being the stronger of the two, disarmed the traitor, threw him to the ground, and uttered the words "God forgive thee, brother!" But the cries of Boleslav brought his servants to the spot, and, supposing their master to have been attacked, they fell on the duke and slew him.[x] Boleslav, who is styled "the Cruel," usurped the government. On the birth of a son, soon after, he was led by a strange mixture of motives to devote the child to a religious life by way of expiation;[y] but for many years he carried on a persecution of his Christian subjects, expelling the clergy and destroying churches and monas-

A.D. 927.

A.D. 936.

[t] Vol. iii. p. 465.

[u] Acta SS., Sept. 16, p. 349; Palacky, i. 204. Dragomira, who is described by Cosmas of Prague (i. 15, ap. Pertz, ix.) as "de durissima gente Luticensi, et ipsis saxis durior ad credendum," is said to have been swallowed up, with her chariot and horses, for having uttered blasphemies as she was passing a church at Prague. Æn. Sylvius, Hist Bohem. c. 15.

[x] Gumpold. Vita Wencesl. c. 19, ap. Pertz, iv.; Acta SS., Sept. 28; Palacky, i. 209. Wenceslav became the patron saint of Bohemia. Ib. 210.

[y] Palacky, i. 210.

teries. In 950, after a long struggle against the power of Otho I., he was obliged to yield, and the emperor, in granting him a peace, insisted that he should establish freedom of religion, and should rebuild the churches which he had demolished.[z] During the remaining seventeen years of Boleslav's reign the church enjoyed peace; but the complete establishment of Christianity was the work of his son Boleslav "the Pious," who took vigorous measures for the suppression of paganism, and with the consent of the emperor, and that of Wolfgang bishop of Ratisbon, to whose see Bohemia had been considered to belong, founded in 973 the bishoprick of Prague. The diocese was to include the whole of Boleslav's dominions, and was to be subject to the archbishop of Mentz, as a compensation for the loss of the suffragan see of Magdeburg, which had lately been erected into an independent archbishoprick.[a] A.D. 967.

The second bishop of Prague was a Bohemian of noble family, who had studied under Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, and, at receiving confirmation from him, had adopted the prelate's name instead of the Bohemian Woytiech.[c] The bishop displayed great activity in his office. He persuaded the duke to build churches and monasteries, and, as his German education had rendered him zealous for the Latin usages, he exerted himself to suppress the Greek rites which had been introduced by way of Moravia. He found that much paganism was still mixed with the Christian profession of his flock, and that gross disorders and immoralities prevailed among them;—that the clergy lived in marriage or A.D. 982.

[z] Schröckh. xxi. 437.

[a] Cosm. Prag. i. 21; Vita Wolfkangi, 29 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Palacky, i. 229.

[b] Pagi, xvi. 249.

[c] Vita Adalb. ap. Pertz. iv. c. 3; Thietmar, iv. 19; Cosmas, i. 25-6. In consequence of this, the Bohemian *Woytiech* and the German *Adalbert* are to this day regarded as corresponding names. Palacky, i. 234.

concubinage; that the people practised polygamy, and marriage within the forbidden degrees; that they sold their serfs and captives to Jewish slave-dealers, who disposed of them to heathens and barbarians—sometimes for the purpose of sacrifice.[d] Adalbert set himself to reform these evils; but the rigour of his character and his somewhat intemperate zeal excited opposition, which was greatly swelled by his attempting to introduce the Roman canons without regard to the national laws, and to assert for the church an immunity from all secular judgments.[e] The feuds of his family were also visited on the bishop, and such was the resistance to his authority that he twice withdrew from Bohemia in disgust, and made pilgrimages to Rome and to Jerusalem. In obedience to a Roman synod, he resumed his see; but he finally left it in 996,[f] and, with the sanction of Gregory V., who gave him the commission of a regionary archbishop, he set out on a missionary expedition to Prussia, where, after ineffectual attempts to convert the barbarous people, he was martyred on the shore of the Frische Haff in April 997.[g] Boleslav, duke of Poland, who had encouraged the mission, redeemed the martyr's corpse, and placed it in a church at Gnesen, where, as we have seen, it was visited with great devotion by Otho III. in the year 1000. On that occasion the emperor erected Gnesen into an archbishoprick, which he bestowed on one of Adalbert's brothers.[h] In 1039, while the Polish throne was vacant and the country was a prey to anarchy, the Bohemians, under Bretislav I., took possession of Gnesen, seized on the

[d] Vita, 9-12.

[e] Schröckh, xxi. 441-2.

[f] Cosmas, i. 29-30; Chron. Casin. ii. 17; Vita, 22; Acta SS., Apr. 23, p. 176; Pagi, xvi. 270, 297; Palacky, i. 238-41.

[g] Vita, 30; Thietmar, iv. 19. It is said that, when the Prussians would not listen to Adalbert, he addressed his preaching to the cows and asses, which nodded their heads in token of assent. Dubravius, in Canis. iii. i. 57.

[h] Thietmar, iv. 28; Annal. Hildesh. 1001 (Pertz, iii.); Palacky, i. 246.

vast treasures which had been accumulated around the shrine of Adalbert, and resolved to carry off the body of the saint, whose memory had risen to great veneration in his native country. Severus, bishop of Prague, who had accompanied the army, took advantage of the feeling. He declared that Adalbert had appeared to him in a vision, and had made him swear that the Bohemians, as a condition of being allowed to enjoy the presence of the martyr's relics in their own land, would bind themselves to the observance of such laws as he had in his lifetime unsuccessfully attempted to establish among them. The relics were then with great solemnity translated to Prague; but Polish writers assert that the invaders were mistaken in their prize, and that the real body of St. Adalbert still remained at Gnesen.[1]

VI. The Slavonic liturgy, which had been sanctioned by pope John VIII. for Moravia, was introduced from that country into Bohemia, and naturally excited opposition on the part of the German clergy who laboured among the Slavonic nations. A letter bearing the name of John XIII., which, in professing to confirm the foundation of the see of Prague, requires the Bohemian church to use the Latin language and rites, is said to be spurious.[k] But the use of the Slavonic liturgy was represented by its opponents as a token of heresy.[l] The abbey of

[1] Bracisl. Leges, Patrol. cli. 1257; Cosm. Prag. ii. 3-5; Acta SS, Apr. 23, pp 177 203-7; Pagi, xvi. 621; Palacky, i. 280; Röpel, 1. 178. The Polish Annals in Pertz, xix. mention the translation, 587, 621.

[k] Ep 32 (Patrol. cxxxv.); Jaffé, 947. Gieseler cites it as genuine (II. i. 359), and Ginzel defends it (135). But in any case it gives no support to Ginzel's assumption (131-3) that the Slavonic missionaries, by whom the first real conversion of the Bohemians was set on foot, refrained from introducing their liturgy into that country out of respect for the rights of the bishops of Ratisbon.

[l] C. Schmidt suspects that the use of the vernacular was really connected with Catharist (or Manichæan) opinions, both at Sazawa and in the region where it was proscribed by the council of Spalatro (see below). i. 16, 52.

Sazawa, founded in 1038, became the chief school of the native Bohemian monasticism, and maintained the Slavonic form.[m] In 1058 the Slavonic monks were expelled from it by duke Spitihnew; but five years later they were restored by duke Wratislav,[n] who endeavoured to obtain from Gregory VII. an approbation of their vernacular service-book. The pope, however, replied in terms of strong disapprobation. It was, he said, God's pleasure that Holy Scripture should not be everywhere displayed, lest it might be held cheap and despised, or should give rise to error; the use of the vernacular had been conceded only on account of temporary circumstances, which had now long passed away.[o] Wratislav, who adhered to the emperor Henry IV. in his contest with Gregory, continued to sanction the Slavonic ritual at Sazawa; but in 1097 it was again suppressed by his successor, Bretislav II., and the monastery was filled with monks of the Latin rite, who destroyed almost all the Slavonic books.[p] Yet the liturgy thus discountenanced by Rome and its partisans was revived from time to time in Bohemia; and in the convent of Emmaus, at Prague, founded in the fourteenth century by the emperor Charles IV., it was especially sanctioned by pope Clement VI., although with the condition that the use of it should be limited to that place.[q]

A.D. 1080.

[m] Monach. Sazav. in Patrol. clxv. 278. The fragments of the Sazawa offices are of the Greek rite. Ginzel, 140. See above, vol. iii. p. 462.

[n] Monach. Sazav. 280-1.

[o] Ep. vi. 11 (Hard. vi. 1435); Giesel. II. i. 359; Gfrörer, iv. 346.

[p] Mon. Saz. 283-4; Ginzel, 145.

[q] Giesel. II. i. 360; iii. 334. Theobald., Bell. Hussit. 72; Palacky, II. ii. 297-8. See Ginzel's Appendix, 92-4. The monastery of Emmaus was so called because its church was consecrated on Easter Monday, 1372,—the account of our Lord's journey to Emmaus being the Gospel for the day (Ginzel, 148). The monks were driven out by the Hussites, and were restored in 1584; but, in 1635—in consequence of the overthrow of protestantism in Bohemia—the Slavonic liturgy was suppressed, and the convent of Emmaus was transferred to Spanish Benedictines (Ginzel, 149-51). It would seem, therefore, that Gieseler is mistaken in supposing the Slavonic liturgy to be still used there. II. i. 360.

In some cases where people of Slavonic race bordered on the Greek empire, the popes found it expedient to gratify their national feelings by allowing the vernacular service; but elsewhere they endeavoured to root it out. Thus, although Alexander II., in 1067, permitted the Slavonic rite in the province of Dioclea,[r] a council held at Spalatro in the following year, under a legate of the same pope, condemned it, on the ground that the Slavonic letters (to which the name of "Gothic" was given) had been invented by Methodius, a heretic, who had written many lying books in the Slavonic tongue against the Catholic faith.[s] The Slavonic liturgy, however, has continued to be used in many churches of Illyria down to the present time, although unhappily its antiquated language has not only become unintelligible to the people, for whose edification it was originally intended, but is said to be little understood even by the clergy who officiate in it.[t]

VII. It has been supposed that some knowledge of Christianity found its way into Poland from Moravia, and more especially by means of Christian refugees after the ruin of the Moravian kingdom.[u] Yet nothing considerable had been effected towards the conversion of the Poles, when in 965 their duke, Mieceslav, married Dambrowka, a daughter of Boleslav the Cruel, of Bohemia. Two years later Dambrowka persuaded her husband to embrace the Christian faith,[x] and he pro-

[r] Ep. 47 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

[s] Ginzel, Ann. 89. It is evident, as Gieseler (II. i. 361) says, that these learned fathers confounded Methodius with Ulfilas!

[t] Ginzel, 169, 170. The Illyrian *Rituàl*, however, (*i.e.* the book of offices for baptism, marriage, etc.), is in modern language. (Ib. 165, 174.) For a list of churches and monasteries where the Slavonic service is used, see Ginzel, 125-31.

[u] Röpell thinks this a mistake. i. 622.

[x] Thietmar, iv. 35; Pagi, xv. 159; Röpell, i. 623-6. The Polish chronicles (i. 5, ap. Pertz, ix.; Annal. Pol. A.D. 942, ib. xix.) say that she made him promise before marriage to do so.

ceeded to enforce it on his subjects under very severe penalties; thus, any one who should eat flesh between Septuagesima and Easter was to lose his teeth. The German chronicler who relates this—Thietmar, bishop of Merseburg—adds that among a people so rude, who needed to be tended like cattle and beaten like lazy asses, means of conversion akin to the severity of their barbaric laws were more likely to be useful than the gentler methods of ordinary ecclesiastical discipline.[y]

The story that the Polish church was organized under the superintendence of a papal legate, with seven bishopricks and two archbishopricks, is now exploded.[z] Posen was the only bishoprick in the country, and was subject to the archbishops of Magdeburg, until in 1000 Gnesen was made an archiepiscopal and metropolitan see by Otho III.[a] Although the original Christianity of Poland was derived from Greek sources, the fourth wife of Mieceslav, Oda, daughter of a German marquis, influenced the duke in favour of the Latin system. This princess was active in the encouragement of monks, and in works of piety and charity; and the clergy, in consideration of the benefits which the church derived from her, were willing to overlook the fact that her marriage was a breach of the vows which she had taken as a nun.[b] The establishment of the Latin Christianity was completed under Boleslav,[c] who has been already mentioned as the patron of Adalbert's mission to Prussia. The popes were careful to draw close the bonds which connected Poland with Rome; and from an early time (although the precise date is disputed), a yearly tribute

[y] viii. 2.

[z] Pagi, xvi. 160; Giesel. II. i. 364; Wiltsch, i. 396.

[a] Pagi, xvi. 395; Schröckh, xxi. 497; Röpell, i. 629-31. Posen, however, continued subject to Magdeburg until 1035. Herzog, xii. 416.

[b] Thietmar, iv. 36; Schröckh, xxi. 495.

[c] Chron. Polon. i. 11.

of a penny was paid by every Pole, with the exception of the clergy and nobles, to the treasury of St. Peter.[d]

The title of king, which Boleslav acquired, was probably bestowed on him by Otho III. on the occasion of his visit to Gnesen.[e] If, however, the dignity was conferred by the imperial power, the popes, according to a story of doubtful authority, soon found a remarkable opportunity of exhibiting and increasing their spiritual jurisdiction over the new kingdom.[f] After the death of king Mieceslav or Miesco II., in 1034, Poland fell into a miserable state of confusion. Paganism again reared its head; there was much apostasy from the gospel, bishops and clergy were killed or hunted out, churches and monasteries were burnt, and the Bohemian invasion, already mentioned, was triumphant.[g] The Poles, it is said, at length resolved to offer the crown to Casimir, a son of the late king, who had been driven into banishment; and, after much inquiry, he was discovered in a monastery—either that of Cluny or the German abbey of Braunweiler. Casimir had taken the monastic vows, and had been ordained a deacon; and the abbot declared that, although grieved for the misery of Poland, he could not release the prince from these engagements, unless by the pope's permission. For this, application was made to Benedict IX., by whom, after much entreaty, Casimir was discharged from his ecclesiastical obligations, and was given up to the Poles, with permission to marry and to undertake the government; but the pope stipulated that, in remembrance of their having received a king from the church, every male of the nation should

[d] Some date this from the reign of Mieceslav; others from Otho's visit to Gnesen; others from the reign of Casimir. See Dethier, in Patrol. cli. 386, Schröckh, xxi. 503, 505; Röpell, i. 129; Gfrörer, iv 79.

[e] Schröckh, xxi. 503. See Dethier, l. c., 1370, seqq.

[f] Planck, iii. 376.

[g] Röpell, i. 175

use a certain sort of tonsure, and that other marks of subjection should be shown to the see of St. Peter.[h]

VIII. During the tenth century the German sovereigns—especially Henry the Fowler and Otho the Great—laboured to provide for the suppression of paganism in the northern part of their dominions.[i] With a view to this, bishopricks were established at Meissen, Merseburg, and elsewhere, and Magdeburg was erected into a metropolitan see.[k] But little impression could be made on the Slavonic tribes in those quarters.[l] A natural prejudice was felt against the gospel as a religion which was offered to them by the Germans; the German missionaries were ignorant of Slavonic; and it is said that the clergy showed greater eagerness to raise money from the people than to instruct them.[m] From time to time extensive insurrections against the foreign power took place, and in these insurrections churches were destroyed and clergy were slain. In 1047, the kingdom of the Wends was established by Gottschalk, who zealously endeavoured to promote Christianity among his subjects. He founded churches and monasteries, and, like the Northumbrian Oswald, he himself often acted as interpreter while the clergy preached in a tongue unintelligible to his people.[n] But in 1066 Gottschalk was murdered by the pagans; many Christians were massacred at the same time, among whom the aged John, a native of Ireland and bishop of Mecklenburg,

[h] Dlugloss, ap. Baron. 1041. 3-11. But the story is considered fabulous (Mabill. Annal. iv. 397; Stenzel, i. 78; Röpell, i. 180). The Chron. Polon. has nothing of it, but states that Casimir was living in Germany, under the protection of Henry III. i. 18, 19 (Pertz, ix.).

[i] Adam Brem. ii. 3; see Schröckh, xxi. 449, seqq.

[k] Joh. xiii., Epp. 2, 9, 10 (Patrol. cxxxv.).

[l] On these, see Adam, i. 10.

[m] Adam, iii. 22.

[n] Ib. 18-20; Helmold, i. 19-22 (Leibnitz, ii.); Acta SS., Jun. 7; Luden, viii. 632.

was singled out as a victim for extraordinary cruelties; and Christianity appeared to be extirpated from the country.[o]

IX. The history of the introduction of Christianity into Hungary has been the subject of disputes, chiefly arising from the question whether it was effected by the Greek or by the Latin church.[p] It appears, in truth, that the first knowledge of the gospel came from Constantinople, where two Hungarian princes, Bolosudes and Gyulas, were baptized in the year 948. Bolosudes relapsed into paganism, and, after having carried on hostilities against both empires, he was taken and put to death by Otho the Great in 955. But Gyulas remained faithful to his profession, and many of his subjects were converted by the preaching of clergy who were sent to him from Constantinople, with a bishop named Hierotheus at their head.[q]

The great victory of Otho in 955[r] opened a way for the labours of the neighbouring German bishops among the Hungarians. About twenty years later,[s] Pilligrin, bishop of Passau, reported to pope Benedict VII. that he had been entreated by the people of Hungary to assist them; that he had sent clergy and monks, who had baptized about five thousand of them; that the land was full of Christian captives, who had formerly been obliged to conceal their religion, and had only been able to get their children baptized by stealth, but that now the hindrances to the open profession of Christianity were removed; that not only the Hungarians, but the Slavonic tribes of the neighbourhood, were ready to embrace the

[o] Ad. Br. iii. 49-50.
See Acta SS., Sept. 2, pp. 469, seqq.; Schröckh, xxi. 529-31.
[q] Cedren. 636; Schröckh, xxi. 526; Mailáth. i. 23.
[r] See p. 9.
[s] Hard. vi. 695; but Pagi seems to place the letter in 979 (xvi. 246). Jaffé refers the pope's answer to 974.

gospel; and he prayed that bishops might be appointed for the work. This representation of the state of things may probably have been heightened by Pilligrin's desire to obtain for himself the pall, with the title of archbishop of Lorch, which had been conferred on some of his predecessors, while the rest, as simple bishops of Passau, had been subject to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg. The pope rewarded him by addressing to the emperor and to the great German prelates a letter in which he bestows on Pilligrin, as archbishop of Lorch, the jurisdiction of a metropolitan over Bavaria, Lower Pannonia, Mœsia, and the adjoining Slavonic territories.[t] Yet little seems to have been done in consequence for the conversion of the Hungarians; Wolfgang, who was sent as a missionary to them, met with such scanty success, that Pilligrin, unwilling to waste the energies of a valuable auxiliary in fruitless labours, recalled him to become bishop of Ratisbon.[u]

Geisa, who from the year 972 was duke of Hungary, married Sarolta, daughter of Gyulas, a woman of masculine character, and by her influence was brought over to Christianity. Although the knowledge of the faith had been received by Sarolta's family from Greece, her husband was led by political circumstances to connect his country with the western church, and he himself appears to have been baptized by Bruno, bishop of Verdun, who had been sent to him as ambassador by Otho I.[x] But

[t] Hard. vi. 689-90. There is a letter in the name of pope Symmachus (A.D. 500) to Theodore, bishop of Lorch (the Roman Laureacum), conferring on him the pall, as metropolitan of Pannonia, on the ground that the see had been founded by the same apostles with that of Rome (Patrol. lxii. 72). But this is now regarded as a forgery (Rettberg, i. 151; Pertz, xvii 481). Lorch was destroyed by the Avars in 738, when Vivilus (see vol. iii. p. 68), removed the see to Passau (Rettberg, ii. 245). The emperor did not confirm the archiepiscopal dignity of Pilligrin (Gfrörer, iii. 1373), and his successors in the bishoprick of Passau were suffragans of Salzburg. Wiltsch, i. 377-9.

[u] Othlon. Vita Wolfkangi, 13 (Pertz, iv. or Patrol. cxlvi.).

[x] Schröckh, xxi. 32; Mailáth, i. 31-4.

Geisa's conversion was of no very perfect kind. While professing himself a Christian, he continued to offer sacrifice to idols, and, when Bruno remonstrated, he answered that he was rich enough and powerful enough to do both.[y] In 983 or the following year, a bishop named Adalbert—probably the celebrated bishop of Prague[z]—appeared in Hungary, and baptized Geisa's son Waik, who was then four or five years old.[a] This young prince, to whom the name of Stephen was given, became the most eminent worthy of Hungarian history. Unlike his father, he received a careful education. In 997 he succeeded Geisa, and he reigned for forty-one years, with a deserved reputation for piety, justice, bravery, and firmness of purpose.[b] A pagan party, which at first opposed him, was put down; he married a Bavarian princess, Gisela, sister of duke Henry (afterwards the emperor Henry II.), and in 1000 he obtained the erection of his dominions into a kingdom from Otho III.[c] In fulfilment of a vow which he had made during the contest with his heathen opponents, he earnestly exerted himself for the establishment of Christianity among his subjects. His kingdom, which he extended by the addition of Transylvania, and part of Wallachia, (a territory known

[y] Thietmar, viii. 3 (who calls Geisa *Dewix*).

[z] So it is said in the Life of St. Stephen, c. 4 (Pertz, xi. or Patrol. cli.). See the Acta SS., Sept. 2, pp. 481-2, 485-7.

[a] Mailáth, i. Anhang, 6. German chroniclers represent Stephen as having been baptized later, with a view to his *marriage*. But against this, see Schröckh, xxi. 534; Neand. vi. 458. Stiltinck supposes him to have been baptized in the year of his birth. Acta SS., Sept. 2, 487-90.

[b] Schröckh, xxi. 534.

[c] Mailáth, i. 40. It has been asserted that the dignity of the king was given by the pope; but the utmost that can truly be said is, that the pope bestowed his blessing on Stephen when he had been made a king by the emperor (Schröckh, xxi. 534-6). The famous crown of St. Stephen is said to have been presented to him by the pope, who had been warned by a vision, instead of sending it to Mieceslav of Poland, to reserve it for the envoys who should come to him from an unknown nation (Vita Steph. 11); and it has been regarded as of heavenly workmanship. But it has on it the name of a Greek emperor, Constantine—probably Constantine Porphyrogenitus—a circumstance which some Romish writers have

as *Black* Hungary),[d] was placed under the special protection of the blessed Virgin.[e] He erected episcopal sees, built many monasteries and churches, and enacted that every ten vills in the kingdom should combine to found and endow a church.[f] Monks and clergy from other countries were invited to settle in Hungary, and it appears that the services which Stephen had done to the church procured for him a commission to act as vicar of the Roman see in his dominions—a privilege which his successors continued to claim.[g] He founded a college for the education of Hungarians at Rome; he built hospitals and monasteries for his countrymen at Rome, Ravenna, Constantinople, and Jerusalem;[h] and such was his hospitality to pilgrims that the journey through Hungary came to be generally preferred to a sea voyage by those who were bound for the Holy Land.[i] The

boldly explained by saying that the crown was given by Constantine the Great to Sylvester I! (see Schröckh, xvi. 537). Count Mailâth, after a careful personal examination, agrees with those who consider the lower part to be Greek and the arches to be Roman (i. Anh. 6-7). The letter said to have been written by Sylvester II. on sending the crown (Patrol. cxxxix. 274) is supposed by Mailâth (Anh. 7) to be genuine in its foundation, although tampered with. Gfrörer defends it (iii. 1534), and Jaffé classes it among the genuine letters (346). But Schröckh (xxi. 545) and Gieseler (II. i. 366) say that the correspondence of its professed discoverer, a Franciscan of the 16th century, named Levacovicz, proves it to have been fabricated by him. This was not known at the date of Stiltinck's dissertation in the Acta Sanctorum for Sept. 2, where everything connected with the story is maintained, pp. 502-12, 517. In the course of some troubles as to the Hungarian kingdom in the 14th century, a papal legate ordered that, so long as St. Stephen's crown should be detained by a certain Waywode, it should be held "interdicted, profane, and reprobate"; and that another crown should be made for use. Mansi, xxv. 159; Raynald. 1309. 26.

[d] Annal. Hildesh. 1003 (Pertz, iii.); Schröckh, xxi. 543.

[e] Vita, 16.

[f] Leges, 34 (Patrol. cli.).

[g] Vita, 12; Giesel. II. i. 366. This rests, however, in part on the suspicious letter quoted in note [e]. (Patrol. cxxxix. 276). See Schröckh, xxi. 546.

[h] Vita, 12; Acta SS., Sept. 2, pp 534-5.

[i] Rad. Glaber, iii. 1; Baron. 1002. 17-22. In 1030, Werinher, bishop of Strasburg, being sent by the emperor Conrad as ambassador to Constantinople, endeavoured, for the sake of economy, to pass through Hungary in the character of a pilgrim. His large and splendid train, however, gave the lie to this pretence, and Stephen, apparently in disgust, altogether refused him a passage, so that the bishop had to make his way through Bavaria to

means which Stephen employed to recommend the gospel and the observance of its duties were not always limited to pure persuasion; thus a free Hungarian who should refuse to embrace Christianity was to be degraded to the condition of a serf; any one who should be found labouring on Sunday was to be stopped, and the horses, oxen, or tools used in the work were to be taken away from him; and any persons who should converse in church were, if of higher station, to be turned out with disgrace; if of "lesser and vulgar" rank, to be publicly flogged into reverence for the sanctity of the place.[k]

Stephen died in 1038. His son Emmerich or Henry, for whom he had drawn up a remarkable code of instructions,[l] had died some years before; and the king bequeathed his dominions to a nephew named Peter,[m] who was soon after dethroned. A period of internal discord followed; and twice within the eleventh century, the paganism which had been repressed so forcibly that king Andrew, in 1048, had even enacted death as the punishment for adhering to it,[n] recovered its ascendency in Hungary so as for a time to obscure the profession of the gospel.[o]

X. Among the nations to which Anskar had preached, Christianity was but very partially adopted. Its progress was liable to be checked by the paganism of some princes; it was liable to be rendered odious by the violent measures which other princes took to enforce it on their subjects, while the barbarism and ignorance of the

Venice, from which he had a dangerous voyage to the eastern capital. In consequence of this affair, Stephen was involved in a war with the emperor, but both parties soon found it convenient to make peace. Wippo, Vita Chuonradi, 22, 26 (Pertz, xi.): Luden, viii. 65, 76.

[k] Leges, 7, 18, etc.; Schröckh, xxi. 548.

[l] "Monita ad Filium" (Patrol. cli.); Vita S. Steph. 16.

[m] Ib. 18. [n] Patrol. cli. 1257

[o] Schröckh, xxi. 549-51.

Northmen opposed a formidable difficulty to its success. Hamburg and Bremen, the sees planted for the evangelization of Nordalbingia and Scandinavia, were repeatedly attacked both by the Northmen and by the Slaves;[p] but the victories of Henry I. established the Christian power, and he erected the Mark of Sleswick as a protection for Germany against the northern inroads.[q] The conversions in Denmark had been limited to the mainland; the islands were still altogether pagan, and human victims continued to be offered in Zealand,[r] until Henry obtained from Gorm, who was the first king of all Denmark, that Christians should be allowed freedom of religion throughout the kingdom, and that human sacrifices should cease.[s] Unni, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg, undertook the work of a missionary in Denmark.[t] His endeavours to make a convert of Gorm were unsuccessful; but he baptized one of the inferior kings named Frode, and found a supporter in Gorm's son, Harold Blaatand (Bluetooth), who had derived some knowledge of the gospel from the instructions of a Christian mother.[u] This prince, however, was still unbaptized; he retained the cruelty, the rapacity, and the other usual vices of the northern plunderers, and for many years his religious belief was of a mixed kind. In 966 a missionary named Poppo, while enjoying Harold's hospitality, fell into an argument with some of the guests, who, although they allowed Christ to be God, maintained that there were other gods of higher dignity and power. In proof

A.D. 934.

[p] Schröckh, xxi. 343.

[q] Luden, vi. 393.

[r] Münter, i. 352.

[s] Thietmar, i. 9; Münter, i. 350.

[t] For Unni, see the Acta Sanctorum, Oct. 21. There is a document by which pope John X. grants him jurisdiction over the whole of the north, including Iceland and Greenland. (Cf. vol. iii. p. 472, as to Anskar.) But in its genuine form it is merely a general confirmation of his archiepiscopal rights. See Acta SS., l. c. p. 383; Patrol. cxxxii. 813.

[u] Helmold. i. 8; Münter, i. 348-52.

of the exclusive truth of his religion, Poppo (it is said) underwent the ordeal of putting on a red-hot iron gauntlet, and wearing it without injury to his hand, until the king declared himself satisfied.[x] From that time Harold attached himself exclusively to Christianity, although he was not baptized until Otho the Great, after defeating him in 972, insisted on his baptism as a condition of peace.[y] The intemperate zeal with which the king now endeavoured to enforce the reception of the gospel provoked two rebellions, headed by his own son Sweyn; and, after a reign of fifty years, Harold was dethroned, and died of a wound received in battle.[z]

Although Sweyn had been brought up as a Christian, and had been baptized at the same time with his father, he persecuted the faith for many years, until, towards the end of his life, when his arms had been triumphant in England, he was there brought back to the religion of his early days.[a] In 1014 he was succeeded by Canute, who, both in England and in his northern dominions, endeavoured by a bountiful patronage of the church to atone for his father's sins and for his own.[b] When present at the coronation of Conrad as emperor,[c] he obtained from him a cession of the Mark of Sleswick.[d] Monasteries were founded in Denmark by Canute, and perhaps the payment of Peter's pence was introduced by him;[e] hospitals for Danish pilgrims were established at Rome and at some stations on the way to it.[f] Three bishops and a number of clergy were sent from England into

[x] Widukind, iii. 65 (Pertz, iii.); Thietmar, ii. 8; Saxo Grammat. 189. The variations of the story are given by Münter, i. 375. Comp. Adam Brem. ii. 33, and Lappenberg's note, in Pertz, vii. 318.

[y] Ad. Brem. ii. 3.

[z] Ib. 25-6; Helmold. i. 15; Münter, i. 375-87. Baronius (980. 11) and Pagi (xvi. 252) place his death in 980; Schröckh (xxi. 350) in 986; Münter (i. 387) and Gieseler (II. i. 348) in 991.

[a] Saxo Gramm. 186-8; Münter, i. 400.

[b] Saxo, 201.

[c] See p. 59.

[d] Luden, viii. 51.

[e] Münter, ii. 461-2, 637

[f] Münter, i. 409.

Denmark; but Unwan, archbishop of Bremen, regarding these bishops as intruders into his province, caught one of them, compelled him to acknowledge the metropolitan rights of Bremen, and sent him to Canute, who thereupon agreed to submit the Danish church to the jurisdiction of that see.[g] Sweyn Estrithsen, who, eight years after the death of his uncle Canute, obtained possession of the Danish throne, although a man of intemperate and profligate life,[h] was very munificent to the church, and did much for the extension of Christianity in the islands of his kingdom. The English missionaries had preached in their native tongue, while at every sentence their words were explained by an interpreter; but Sweyn, to remedy this difficulty for the future, provided that such foreigners as were to labour in the instruction of his subjects should be previously initiated in the Danish language by the canons of Hamburg.[i] Among the memorable events of this reign was the penance to which the king was obliged to submit by William, bishop of Roskield, for having caused some refractory nobles to be put to death in a church—a penance imitated from that of Theodosius. Sweyn died in 1076.[k]

A.D. 1043-1067.

XI. The Christianity planted by Anskar in Sweden was almost confined to the neighbourhood of Birka, and for about seventy years after the apostle's death the country was hardly ever visited by missionaries.[l] Unni, archbishop of Bremen, after the expedition to Denmark which has been mentioned,[m] crossed the sea to Sweden

[g] Ad. Brem. ii. 53. There is a suspected grant to Unwan of legatine power over all the northern regions from Benedict VIII. Ep. 37 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

[h] Saxo, 208.

[i] Schröckh, xxi. 353, 359.

[k] Saxo, 209-11; Schröckh, xxi. 356-7. William of Roskield was an Englishman. Saxo, 205.

[l] Schröckh. xxi. 360-1.

[m] P. 96.

in 935, and laboured there until his death in the following year.[n] A mixture of paganism and Christianity arose, which is curiously exemplified in a drinking-song still extant, where the praises of the divine Trinity are set forth in the same style which was used in celebrating the gods of Walhalla.[o]

The reign of Olave Stotkonung,[p] who became king towards the end of the tenth century and died about 1024,[q] was important for the propagation of the gospel in Sweden. Some German clergy, and many from England, were introduced into the country; among them was Sigfrid, archdeacon of York, who laboured among the Swedes for many years. Two of his relations, who had joined him in the mission, were murdered by heathens. The chief murderer escaped, and his property was confiscated; some of his accomplices, who were found, were, at Sigfrid's intercession, allowed to compound for their crime by payment of a fine; and the funds thus obtained served to found the bishoprick of Wexio, to which Sigfrid was consecrated by the archbishop of Bremen.[r] Olave had meditated the destruction of the temple at Upsal, which was the principal seat of the old idolatry; he was, however, diverted from his intention by the entreaties of his heathen subjects, who begged him to content himself with taking the best portion of the country, and building a church for his own religion, but to refrain from attempting to force their belief. On this he removed A.D. 1015. to Skara, in West Gothland, and founded a see there, to which Thurgot, an Englishman, was consecrated.[s] The ancient Runic characters were superseded

[n] Ad. Brem. i. 62-4; Acta SS., Oct. 21, p. 391.

[o] Schröckh, xxi. 362.

[p] *I.e.*, Lap-king, because he is said to have been king while yet in his nurse's lap. But Geijer remarks that, if this be true, Olave must in his childhood have been associated with his father in the kingdom, as he was old enough to take a personal share in the government soon after his father's death. i. 119.

[q] Ib. 126.

[r] Schröckh, xxi. 362-5.

[s] Ad. Brem. ii. 56.

among the Swedes by the Latin alphabet, and the influence of Christianity triumphed over the national love of piracy.[t]

But the violence of the measures by which Olave endeavoured to advance the gospel excited a general hatred against him among the adherents of the old religion, and he was obliged to admit his son Emund to a share in the government. Emund, after his father's death, had a disagreement with the archbishop of Bremen, and set up some bishops independent of that prelate's metropolitan jurisdiction—having obtained consecration for them in Poland.[u] But this arrangement was given up by his second successor, Stenkil, whose mild and wise policy was more favourable to the advancement of the faith than the more forcible proceedings of Olave had been. Under Stenkil, the number of churches in Sweden was increased to about eleven hundred.[x] His death, which took place in 1066,[y] was followed by bloody civil wars, and for a time paganism resumed its ascendency; but in 1075 king Inge forbade all heathen worship, and, although this occasioned his expulsion, while his brother-in-law Soen was set up by the heathen party, Inge eventually recovered his throne, and, after much contention, Christianity was firmly established in the country.[z] According to Adam of Bremen, a contemporary of this king, the scandal produced by the covetousness of too many among the clergy had been the chief hindrance to the general conversion of the Swedes, whom he describes as well disposed to receive the gospel.[a]

XII. Among the Norwegians, some converts had been

[t] Schröckh, xxi. 367.
[u] Ad. Brem. iii. 14.
[x] Schröckh, xxi. 571.
[y] Gaijer, i. 131.
[z] Ib. 132-5; Giesel. II. i. 350.
[a] 'Descriptio Insularum,' 21, ap. Pertz, vii.

made in the time of Anskar, and the more readily because the profession of Christianity opened to them the trade of England and of Germany. Yet such converts, although they acknowledged the power of Christ, and believed him to be the God of England, had greater confidence in the gods of Odin's race, whom they regarded as still reigning over their own land;[b] and it was not until a century later that a purer and more complete Christianity was introduced into Norway.

Eric "of the Bloody Axe," whose cruelties had rendered him detested by his subjects, was dethroned in 938 by his brother Haco.[c] The new king had been educated as a Christian in the English court, under Athelstan, and was resolved to establish his own faith among his subjects.[d] Some of his chief adherents were won to embrace the gospel. He postponed the great heathen feast of Yule[e] from midwinter in order that it might fall in with the celebration of the Saviour's nativity; and while the other Norwegians were engaged in their pagan rejoicings, Haco and his friends, in a building by themselves, kept the Christian festival. Clergy were brought from England, and some congregations of converts were formed.[f] But when the reception of Christianity was proposed in the national assembly, a general murmur arose. A.D. 956-7. It was said that the rest of Sunday and Friday, which was required by the new faith, could not be afforded. The servants who had attended their masters to the meeting cried out that, if they were to fast, their bodies would be so weakened as to be unfit for work.

[b] Münter, i. 435.

[c] Snorro Sturleson, i. 316; Münter, i. 441.

[d] Snorro, i. 310. Dr. Lappenberg thinks that the Athelstan in question may have been, not the great Anglo-Saxon king, but Guthrun-Athelstan, one of the Danish kings of East Anglia, i. 371-3.

[e] This name is derived from *hjol* or *hjul*, a wheel, and has reference to the *circle* of the year—Yule being the time at which the decreasing and the increasing days meet. See Thorpe, 'Northern Mythology,' ii. 50.

[f] Snorro, i. 326.

Many declared that they could not desert the gods under whom their forefathers and themselves had so long prospered; they reminded the king how his people had aided him in gaining the crown, and told him that, if he persisted in his proposal, they would choose another in his stead.[g] Haco found himself obliged to yield. He was forced to preside at the next harvest sacrifice, where he publicly drank to the national gods; and, as he made the sign of the cross over his cup, Sigurd, his chief adviser, told the company that it was meant to signify the hammer of their god Thor. The heathen party, however, were still unsatisfied. Eight of their chiefs bound themselves to extirpate Christianity; they assaulted and killed some of the clergy, and at the following Yule-feast Haco was compelled to submit to further compliances—to drink to the gods without making the sign of the cross, and to prove himself a heathen by partaking of the liver of a horse which had been offered in sacrifice.[h] Feeling this constraint intolerable, he resolved to meet his opponents in arms; but an invasion by Eric's sons, who had obtained aid from Harold Blaatand of Denmark, induced the Norwegian parties to enter into a reconciliation, and to turn their arms against the common enemy. From that time Haco lived in harmony with his people, not only tolerating their heathenism, but himself yielding in some degree to the influence of a heathen queen. In 963 his nephews renewed their attack, and Haco was mortally wounded. He expressed a wish, in case of recovery, to retire to some Christian land, that he might endeavour by penance to expiate his compliances, which weighed on his conscience as if he had been guilty of apostasy. But when his friends proposed that he should be carried to England for burial, he answered that he was unworthy of it—that he had lived as a heathen, and as a heathen

[g] Snorro, i. 328-9; Münter, i. 44-4. [h] Snorro, i. 330-1. Comp. above, p. 85.

should be buried in Norway.[l] His death was lamented by a scald in a famous song, which celebrates his reception into Walhalla, and intimates that, in consideration of the tolerance which he had shown towards the old religion, his own Christianity was forgiven by the gods.[k]

Harold, the son of Eric, who now became master of the kingdom, endeavoured to spread Christianity by forcible means. After some commotions, in the course of which the son of Eric was slain, Harold Blaatand added Norway to his dominions, and appointed a viceroy named Haco, who, unlike his master, was so devoted a pagan that he sacrificed one of his own children. The viceroy exerted himself for the restoration of paganism, and, by the help of the party who adhered to it, established himself in independence of the Danish king. But the oppressed Christians invited to their relief Olave, the son of a petty prince named Tryggve, and Haco was dethroned in 995.[l] A.D. 977.

Olave Tryggvesen is celebrated in the northern chronicles as the strongest, the bravest, and the most beautiful of men.[m] After a life of wild adventure, in the course of which he had visited Russia and Constantinople, and had spread terror along the coasts of the western ocean, he had been baptized by a hermit in one of the Scilly Islands, and had been confirmed by Elphege, bishop of Winchester, in the presence of the English king Ethelred.[n] Although his Christian practice was far from perfect (for, among other things, he married his stepmother, and endeavoured to obtain a knowledge of the future by the arts of divination), yet his zeal for his new A.D. 994.

[l] Snorro, i. 344-6; Münter, i. 450.

[k] It is translated by Bp. Münter, i. 452-5, and by Mr. Laing, Snorro, i. 346.

[l] Münter, i. 458-63.

[m] Snorro, i. 397. For his history see the vi[th] Saga. Hume confounds him with St. Olave. i. 120.

[n] Flor. Vigorn. i. 152; Snorro, i. 398.

religion was unbounded, and manifested itself in exertions for the spreading of the faith which savoured less of the Christian spirit than of his old piratical habits, and of the despotism which he had seen in Russia and in the eastern empire.[o] Gifts and privileges of various kinds, and even marriage with the king's beautiful sisters, were held out to the chiefs as inducements to embrace the gospel; while those who should refuse were threatened with confiscation of property, with banishment, mutilation, tortures, and death.[p] In the most blamable of his proceedings, Olave was much influenced by the counsels of Thangbrand, a German priest from whom he had derived his first knowledge of the gospel, but whose character was so violent that he did not scruple even to kill those who offended or thwarted him.[q] The king visited one district after another for the purpose of establishing Christianity. "Wheresoever he came," says Snorro Sturleson, in describing one of his circuits, "to the land or to the islands, he held an assembly, and told the people to accept the right faith and to be baptized. No man dared to say anything against it, and the whole country which he passed through was made Christian."[r] Strange stories are related of the adventures which he encountered in destroying idols and temples, and of the skill and presence of mind with which he extricated himself from the dangers which he often incurred on such occasions. In one place Olave found eighty heathens who professed to be wizards. He made one attempt to convert them when they were sober, and another over their horns of ale; and, as they were not to be won in either state, he set fire to the building in which they were assembled. The chief of the party alone escaped from the flames;

[o] Ad. Brem. ii. 38; Snorro, i. 427, seqq.; Schröckh, xxi. 377-9; Münter, i. 468, 494.

[p] Münter, i. 468; Neand. v. 408.

[q] Ib. 407.

[r] i. 454.

but he afterwards fell into the king's hands, and was thrown into the sea.[s] Another obstinate pagan and sorcerer had a serpent forced down his throat; the creature ate its way through his body, and caused his death.[t] A less unpleasing tale relates Olave's dealings with a young hero named Endrid, who at length agreed that his religion should be decided by the event of a contest between himself and a champion to be appointed by the king. Olave himself appeared in that character; in a trial which lasted three days, he triumphantly defeated Endrid in swimming, in diving, in archery, and in sword-play; and having thus prepared him for the reception of Christian doctrine, he completed his conversion by instructing him in the principles of the faith.[u] The insular parts of Olave's dominions were included in his labours for the extension of the gospel; he forced the people of the Orkneys, of the Shetland, the Faroe, and other islands, to receive Christianity at the sword's point.[x] In obedience to a vision which he had seen at a critical time, Olave chose St. Martin as the patron of Norway, and ordered that the cup which had been usually drunk in honour of Thor should in future be dedicated to the saint.[y] In 997 he founded the bishoprick of Nidarôs or Drontheim.

Olave's zeal for Christianity at length cost him his life. Sigrid, the beautiful widow of a Swedish king, after having resisted the suit of the pretty princes of Sweden so sternly that she even burnt one of them in his castle, in order (as she said) to cure the others of their desire to win her hand,[z] conceived the idea of marrying the king of Norway, and with that view visited his court. Olave was inclined to the match; but, on her refusal to be

[s] Münter, i. 487.
[t] Snorro, i. 448.
[u] Münter, i. 474-5.
[x] Münter, i. 480, 550-2; Grub, i. 246.
[y] Schröckh, xxi. 378.
[z] Snorro, i. 415.

baptized, he treated her with outrageous indignity, which filled her with a vehement desire of revenge. Sigrid soon after married Sweyn of Denmark. Her new husband, and the child of her first marriage, Olave Stotkonung, combined, at her urgent persuasion, in an expedition against Norway, and their force was strengthened by a disaffected party of Norwegians, under Eric, son of that Haco whom Olave had put down. A naval engagement took place, and the fortune of the day was against Olave. His ship, the "Long Dragon," after a desperate defence, was boarded; on which the king and nine others, who were all that remained of the crew, threw themselves into the sea, in order that they might not fall into the hands of their enemies.[a] Rude and violent as Olave was, he was so beloved by his subjects that many are said to have died of grief for him, and even the heathens cherished his memory. He was believed to be a saint; it was said that he had performed miracles, and that angels had been seen to visit him while at his prayers; and legends represented him as having long survived the disastrous fight. Nearly fifty years later, it is told, a Norwegian named Gaude, who had lost his way among the sands of Egypt, was directed by a dream to a monastery, where to his surprise he found an aged abbot of his own country. The old man's questions were such that the pilgrim was led to ask whether he were himself king Olave. The answer was ambiguous; but the abbot charged Gaude, on returning to Norway, to deliver a sword and a girdle to a warrior who had sought death with Olave but had been rescued from the waves; and to tell him that on the fatal day no one had borne himself more bravely than he. Gaude performed his commission, and the veteran, on receiving the gifts and the message, was assured that

A.D. 1000.

[a] Snorro, i. 433, 469, seqq.; Münter, i. 493.

the Egyptian abbot could be no other than his royal master.[b]

The progress of the gospel in Norway was slow during some years after the end of Olave Tryggvesen's reign. But his godchild Olave,[c] the son of Harold, who became king in 1015,[d] was bent on carrying on the work. Many missionaries were invited from England; at their head was a bishop named Grimkil, who drew up a code of ecclesiastical law for Norway.[e] Although his own character was milder than that of Olave Tryggvesen, the king pursued the old system of enforcing Christianity by such penalties as confiscation, blinding, mutilation, and death,[f] and, like the elder Olave, he made journeys throughout his dominions, in company with Grimkil, with a view to the establishment of the faith. He found that under the pressure of scarcity the people were accustomed to relapse into the practice of sacrificing to their old gods. He often had to encounter armed resistance.[g] At Dalen, in 1025, the inhabitants had been excited by the report of his approach, and on arriving he found 700 exasperated pagans arrayed against him. But, although his own party was only half the number, he put the peasants to flight, and a discussion on the merits of the rival religions ensued. Grimkil—"the horned man," as the heathens called him from the shape of his cap or mitre—maintained the cause of Christianity; to which the other party, headed by a chief named Gudbrand, replied that their own god Thor was superior to the Christians' God, inasmuch as he could be seen. The

[b] Münter, i. 493-5.

[c] This connexion between the two Olaves is, however, doubtful. See Acta SS., Jul. 29, p. 105.

[d] Mr. Laing dates his accession in this year, and his death in 1030 (ii. 339). Others give the dates 1017 and 1033 respectively. Münter, i. 500.

[e] Ad. Brem. ii. 55. This code, which is known by the name of *Kristinrett*, is now lost, although fragments exist in the laws of Iceland and in the latter Norwegian law. Münter, i. 501-2.

[f] Snorro, ii. 79, 147.

[g] *Ib.* 178-9.

king spent a great part of the following night in prayer. Next morning at daybreak the huge idol of Thor was brought to the place of conference. Olave pointed to the rising sun as a visible witness to his God, who created it; and, while the heathens were gazing on its brightness, a gigantic soldier, in fulfilment of orders which he had before received from the king, raised his club and knocked the idol to pieces. A swarm of loathsome creatures, which had found a dwelling within its body, and had fattened on the daily offerings of food and drink, rushed forth; and the men of Dalen, convinced of the vanity of their old superstition, consented to be baptized.[h]

The forcible means which Olave used in favour of his religion, the taxes which he found it necessary to impose, and the rigour with which he enforced the suppression of piracy and robbery, aroused great discontent among his subjects. Canute of Denmark and England was encouraged to claim the kingdom of Norway; his gold won many of the chiefs to his interest, and Olave, finding himself deserted, fled into Russia, where he was honourably received by Yaroslaff, and was invited to settle by the offer of a province.[i] But, while hesitating between the acceptance of this offer and the execution of an idea which he had entertained of becoming a monk at Jerusalem, he was diverted by a vision, in which Olave Tryggvesen exhorted him to attempt the recovery of the kingdom which God had given him.[k] The Swedish king supplied him with some soldiers; and on his landing in Norway, multitudes flocked to his standard. Olave refused the aid of all who were unbaptized; many received baptism from no other motive than a wish to be allowed

[h] Snorro, ii. 155-60. Compare vol. i. p. 395. Vigorn. i. 184.
[i] Snorro, ii. 154, 268, 273, 287; Flor.
[k] Snorro, ii. 295-6.

to aid him; and his soldiers marched with the sign of the cross on their shields.[l] On the eve of a battle he gave a large sum of money to be laid out for the souls of his enemies who should fall; those who should lose their lives for his own cause, he said, were assured of salvation.[m] But the forces of the enemy were overpowering, and Olave was defeated and slain.[n] A.D. 1030.

After a time his countrymen repented of their conduct towards him. It was rumoured that he had done miracles in Russia, that on his last fatal expedition his blood had healed a wound in the hand of the warrior who killed him; a blind man, on whose eyes it had been accidentally rubbed, recovered his sight; and other cures of a like kind were related.[o] A year after his death his body was disinterred by Grimkil, when no signs of decay appeared, and the hair and nails had grown. The remains of the king were removed to the church of St. Clement at Nidarôs, which he himself had built, and when, in the following century, a cathedral was erected by the sainted archbishop Eystein (or Augustine) they were enclosed in a magnificent silver shrine, above the high altar.[p] St. Olave was chosen as the patron of Norway; his fame was spread far and wide by a multitude of miracles, and pilgrims from distant countries flocked to his tomb for cure:[q] tribute was paid to him by Norway and Sweden; and churches were dedicated to his honour, not only in the western countries, but in Russia and at Constantinople.[r]

Canute, after becoming master of Norway, encouraged religion there as in his other dominions. By him the first Benedictine monastery in the kingdom was founded

[l] Snorro, ii. 303-9, 320.
[m] Ib. 313. [n] Ib. 332.
[o] Ib. 297, 306, 333, 340-8; Acta SS., July 29, p. 109; Münter, i. 513.
[p] Snorro, ii. 315, 369; iii. 38, 108; Münter, ii. 404.
[q] Ad. Brem. Descr. Insularum, 32.
[r] Snorro, ii. 380-2; Schröckh, xxi. 484-5. See Thorpe's 'Northern Mythology,' ii. 36, seqq.

near Nidarôs.[s] Harold Hardrada, Olave's half-brother, a rough and irreligious man, who became king in 1047, had some differences with pope Alexander II., and with Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen. The king said that he knew no archbishop in Norway except himself, and obtained ordination for bishops from England and from France; while Adalbert, declaring that he had but two masters, the pope and the emperor, paid no regard to the northern sovereign, and without his consent erected sees in his dominions.[t] Norway, like the rest of western Christendom, submitted to the dominion of Rome.[u]

XIII. Iceland became known to the Norwegians in 860, when a Norwegian vessel was cast on its coast.[x] In 874, the first Norwegian colonist, Ingulf, settled in the island; and in the following years many of his countrymen resorted to it, especially after the great victory of Harold the Fairhaired at Hafursfiord, in 883, by which a number of petty kings or chiefs were driven from their native land to seek a home elsewhere.[y] The colonists were of the highest and most civilized class among the Northmen, and the state of society in the new community took a corresponding character. The land was parcelled out, and the Icelanders, renouncing the practice of piracy, betook themselves to trade—exchanging the productions of their island for the corn, the wood, and other necessaries which it did not afford.[z] A republican form of

[s] Schröckh, xxi. 383.

[t] Ad. Brem. iii. 16; Schröckh, xxi. 469; Alex. II. ap. Hard. vi. 1079.

[u] See, for the character of the Norwegians, Ad. Brem. Descr. Insul. 20.

[x] Henderson's Iceland, I. xiii. (Edinb. 1818); Rafn, 'Antiquitates Americanæ,' 8 (Havniæ, 1837).

[y] Rafn, 8; Snorro, i. 280; Depping, 45-7. "The period during which the settlement was going on lasted about sixty years. At the end of that time the island was as fully peopled as it has ever been since, and the number of inhabitants may be reckoned at 50,000." Dasent, Pref. to 'The Story of Burnt Njal' (Edinb. 1861), p. 45.

[z] Laing, i. 56-8. But Henderson states that there is evidence that wood formerly grew in Iceland. (I. x.;

government was established, and lasted for four hundred years. It had its national and provincial assemblies; its chief was the "lawman,"[a] elected for life, whose office it was to act as conservator of the laws; and with this magistracy the function of priest was joined. The worship of Odin was established, but it would seem that there was an entire freedom as to religion.[b]

It is said that the colonists found in Iceland traces of an Irish mission—such as service-books, bells, and pastoral crooks—although the natives, having been left without any clergy, had relapsed into paganism.[c] Some of the Norwegians themselves may also have carried with them such mixed and imperfect notions of Christianity as were to be gathered in the intercourse of their roving and adventurous life;[d] but the knowledge of the gospel was neither spread among the other members of the community nor transmitted to their own descendants.[e] In 981, an Icelander named Thorwald, who had formerly been a pirate, but even then had been accustomed to spend such part of his plunder as he could spare in redeeming captives from other pirates, brought with him to the island a Saxon bishop named Frederick, by whom he had

comp. Encycl. Britann. art. *Iceland.*) Adam of Bremen says, "Nullæ ibi fruges, minima lignorum copia." Descr. Insul. 35.

[a] *Lögsögumadr*, utterer or publisher of the law. Henderson, I. xxii.; Dasent, in Oxford Essays for 1858, p. 207.

[b] Schröckh, xxi. 387; Henderson, I. xvi.-xxiv.; Depping, ii. 49-60; Münter, i. 521-6.

[c] The old authorities for this (Ari Frode, etc.) are collected by Rafn, 203-5. Dicuil, an Irish monk, in a treatise 'De Mensura Orbis,' written A.D. 825, shows himself acquainted with the existence of Iceland, which he calls *Thile* (pp. 42-3, and Præf. p. 9, ed. Parthey, Berl. 1870). See also Münter, i. 520; Rafn, 204; Laing, i. 40; Dasent, Pref. to Njal, 7-8; Reeves, n. on Adamnan, ii. 42, p. 169. Professor Innes derives the earlier mission from Iona ('Scotland in the Middle Ages,' 101). Lanigan supposes that the Irish clergy remained until the arrival of the Norwegians, and were then expelled. iii. 228.

[d] Thus Helgi is described as "much mixed in his faith. He trusted in Christ, but invoked Thor's aid when sent to sea or in any difficulty." His knowledge of Christianity had been gained in Iceland. Dasent, Oxf. Ess. 180.

[e] Münter, i. 524 5.

been converted.[f] A church was built, and Frederick's instructions were well received, although most of his proselytes refused to be baptized—being ashamed, it is said, to expose themselves naked at the ceremony, and to wear the white dress which in their country was worn by children only.[g] An important convert, named Thorkil, before submitting to baptism, desired that it might be administered by way of experiment to his aged and infirm father-in-law; and, as the old man died soon after, Thorkil put off his own baptism for some years.[h] The worshippers of Odin were roused to enmity by the rough manner in which Thorwald proceeded to spread his religion. After five years he and the bishop were expelled, and took refuge in Norway, where Thorwald, meeting with one of those who had most bitterly opposed him in Iceland, killed him. Frederick, hopeless of effecting any good in company with so lawless an associate, returned to his own country, and it is supposed that Thorwald, after many years of wandering, in the course of which he had visited the Holy Land, founded a monastery in Russia or at Constantinople, and there died.[i]

Olave Tryggvesen—partly, perhaps, from political motives—was desirous of establishing the gospel in Iceland, and, after some earlier attempts to forward its progress, sent Thangbrand, the German priest who has been already mentioned, into the island in 997. The choice of a missionary was unfortunate; Thangbrand, it is said, performed some miracles; but he proceeded with his usual violence, and, after having killed one of his opponents, and two scalds who had composed scurrilous

[f] Münter supposes Frederick to have been an ecclesiastic of Hamburg or Bremen, ordained by the archbishop for the mission. i. 527.

[g] Schröckh, xxi. 388-90.

[h] Münter, i. 531.

[i] Ib. 532; ii. 695. See the 'Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1862, p. 120, art. 'Iceland and the Change of Faith.'

verses on him, he was expelled.[k] Olave, on receiving from Thangbrand a report of the treatment which he had met with, was very indignant, and was about to undertake an expedition for the punishment of the Icelanders, when Gissur and Hialte, two natives of the island, obtained his consent to the employment of milder measures for the conversion of their countrymen. By the promise of a sum of money (which, however, was rather a lawful fee than a bribe),[l] they secured the co-operation of the lawman Thorgeir, who, after addressing the national assembly in an exhortation to peace and unity, proposed a new law by way of compromise. All the islanders were to be baptized, the temples were to be destroyed, and public sacrifices were to cease; but it was to be allowed to eat horseflesh, to expose children, and to offer sacrifice in private.[m] The proposal was adopted, and Christian instruction gradually prevailed over such remnants of heathenism as the law had sanctioned. St. Olave took an interest in the Christianity of Iceland; he sent an English bishop named Bernard to labour there, and exerted himself to procure the acceptance of Grimkil's ecclesiastical laws, and the abolition of the practice of exposing children.[n] A.D. 1000.

Although Iceland was from time to time visited by bishops, the need of a fixed episcopate was felt, and in 1056 the see of Skalholt was erected. Isleif, a son of Gissur, who had been educated at Erfurt and had made a pilgrimage to Rome, was elected a bishop, and, in obedience to an order from the pope, was consecrated by Adalbert of Bremen.[o] With the consent of a younger

[k] Snorro, i. 442; Burnt Njal, ii. 63-76; Münter, i. 535-6; Quart. Rev. 130-3.

[l] Dasent, n. on Njal, ii. 79.

[m] Snorro, i. 548; Burnt Njal, ii. 76-80; Münter, i. 541; Quart. Rev. 135-8.

[n] Münter, i. 544; Neand. v. 419. A revision of Grimkil's code for Iceland was executed in 1123. Henderson, I. lii.

[o] Victor II. Ep. 5 (Patrol. cxliii.); Adam Brem. Descr. Insul. 35; Münter, ii. 415. It would seem that Isleif was

Gissur, who had succeeded his father Isleif in the bishoprick of Skalholt, a second see was founded at Hollum in 1105.[p] The bishops, being taken from the most distinguished families, and invested, like the priests of the old idolatry,[q] with secular power, became the most important members of the community. Adam of Bremen, who draws a striking picture of the contented poverty, the piety, and the charity of the islanders, tells us that they obeyed their bishop as a king.[r] In 1121 the first Icelandic monastery was founded, and at a later time the island contained seven cloisters for men and two for women.[s] The Icelanders traded to all quarters; their clergy, educated in Germany, France, and England, carried back the knowledge and the civilization of foreign countries. And in this remote and ungenial island grew up a vernacular literature of annals, poems, and *sagas* or historical legends—the oldest literature of the Scandinavians, and the only source of information as to a great part of northern history. This literature flourished for two centuries, until, on the reduction of Iceland to tribute by the Norwegians in 1261, Latin became there, as elsewhere, the language of letters.[t]

XIV. From Iceland the gospel made its way into a yet more distant region. In 982, a Norwegian named Eric the Red, who had fled to Iceland in consequence of having killed a man, and was there sentenced to banishment on account of a feud in which he was involved, determined to seek out a coast which had some years be-

much troubled by foreign bishops—probably Irish—who visited his country and stirred up disaffection. Münter, ii. 416, 1096.

[p] Münter, ii. 420.

[q] Dasent, Pref. to Njal, 46-8.

[r] Desc. Insul. 35; cf. Girald. Cambrens. Topogr. Hiberniæ, ii. 13 (Camden, 'Anglica, Normannica,' etc. 721).

[s] Münter, ii. 671. Innocent III. speaks unfavourably as to the state of Iceland. Ep. i. 320 (Patrol. ccxiv.).

[t] Schröckh, xxi. 391; Münter, i. 546; Depping, ii. 191-4.

fore been seen by one Gunnbiorn.[u] Four years later, when the time of his banishment was expired, Eric revisited Iceland, and induced many of his countrymen to accompany him to the land of his refuge, to which—with a design, as is said, of attracting adventurers by the promise which it conveyed—the name of *Green*land was given.[x] In 999, Leif, the son of Eric, made a voyage to Norway, where Olave Tryggvesen induced him to receive baptism; and on his return to Greenland he was accompanied by a priest.[y] The colony flourished for centuries. In 1055 (a year before the foundation of the first Icelandic see), a bishop was consecrated for it by Adalbert of Bremen. There were thirteen churches in the eastern part of Greenland, four in the western, and three or four monasteries.[z] Sixteen bishops in succession presided over the church of Greenland. From the year 1276 they took their title from the see of Gardar; they were subject to the archbishop of Nidarôs, and were in the habit of attending synods in Norway as well as in Iceland. And even from this extremity of the earth tribute was paid to the successors of St. Peter.[a] But from the middle of the fifteenth century Greenland was lost to the knowledge of Europeans. The ice accumulated on its shores, so as to render them inaccessible, and the seventeenth bishop destined for the church was unable to land. The pestilence known as the "Black death" wasted the population, and it is supposed that, when thus weakened, they were overpowered by tribes of Skrällings (Esquimaux) from the continent

[u] Rafn, 9-11, 91; Henderson, I. xxviii.; Laing, iii. 143. On the discrepancies of the accounts, see Rafn's Preface, xii.-xiii.

[x] "Dicebat enim, hanc rem hominibus suasuram eo demigrare, quod terra specioso nomine gauderet" (Particula de Eiriko, ap. Rafn, 14). But, although from this and other statements it would seem that the name was given on account of the rich verdure, Adam of Bremen says that it was because the inhabitants were "a salo cærulei." Descr. Ins. 36.

[y] Snorro, i. 455, 465; Rafn, 16, 117.

[z] Victor II. Ep. 5; Münter, i. 557; ii. 672-3; Laing, i. 141. The number of churches and monasteries is somewhat variously given.

[a] Münter, i. 556-8; cf ii. 444, 470.

of North America, the ancestors of the present inhabitants.[b]

The Northmen appear to have pushed their discoveries from Greenland to the American continent. In the year 1000, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, incited by the narrative of Biorn, the son of Heriulf, as to his adventures when in search of Greenland,[c] sailed southward, and explored several coasts, to one of which the name of Vinland (or Wineland) was given, because one of his companions, a native of southern Germany, recognized the vine among its productions. Further explorations were afterwards made in the same direction; and settlements were for a time effected on the shores of the great western continent.[d] A bishop named Eric is said to have accompanied an expedition to Vinland in 1121;[e] but nothing further is known of him, and it would seem that no confidence can be placed in the conjectures or inquiries which profess to have found in America traces of a Christianity planted by the Scandinavian adventurers of the middle ages.[f]

[b] Münter, i. 560, and the Bull of Nicolas V., ib. 584; Laing, i. 145, 152-3. There were two districts in the colony —Ostre Bygd and Westre Bygd, of which the eastern was the more flourishing. These are described as separated by a waste twelve miles in extent (Rafn, 315). Cape Farewell was long supposed by geographers to have been the point of division, and there was a belief that the eastern settlement had escaped the fate of the western, so that descendants of the Scandinavian colonists might still exist on the icebound coast of East Greenland. But a Danish expedition in 1829-30 could find no trace that East Greenland had ever been inhabited; and it seems to be now agreed that the ancient settlements were both on the coast north-west of Cape Farewell, Ostre Bygd being the part nearest to the cape. Laing, i. 150; Rafn, 409; Scoresby, in Encycl. Brit., 8th edit. xi. 39 (art. *Greenland*).

[c] Rafn, 21-7.

[d] Ib. 261.

[e] Partic. de Graenlandis, ap. Rafn, 35-6. An account of this voyage is interpolated in some copies of Snorro Sturleson. (See Laing, iii. 344, seqq.; Adam Brem. Descr. Insul. 38.) Vinland is supposed to have been Rhode Island, or in its neighbourhood. (Encycl. Brit. ii. 698, art. *America*.) Rafn identifies it with Nantucket, xxxiv. 425.

[f] See Münter, i. 562-3; Laing, i. 161, seqq. It has been said that in the 11th century an Irish bishop named John preached and was martyred in the regions thus discovered. But the story arises out of a confusion between the American Vinland and the land of

CHAPTER VIII.

HERESIES.

A.D. 1000—1052.

THE beginning of the eleventh century is remarkable for the appearance of heretical teachers in various parts of Italy and France. It would appear that the doctrines professed by some of these persons had long been lurking among the Italians, and that now the discredit into which the church had fallen combined with the general suffering and distraction of the time to draw them forth into publicity and to procure adherents for them.[a] From the fact that Gerbert, at his consecration as archbishop of Reims (A.D. 991), made a profession of faith in which he distinctly condemned (among other errors) some leading points of the Manichæan system,[b] it has been inferred[c] that heresy of a Manichæan character was then prevalent in some neighbouring quarter; but perhaps it may be enough to suppose that the Manichæism which Gerbert wished to disavow was one of the many errors with which he was personally charged by the enmity or the credulity of his contemporaries.[d] The opinions which were now put forth were of various kinds. One Leutard, a man of low condition, who about the year 1000 made himself notorious in the neighbourhood of Châlons-on-the-Marne, would seem to have been a crazy fanatic. He professed to have received commands from heaven while sleeping in a field; whereupon he went home, put away his wife "as if by evangelic precept," and, going into a church,

the Wends in North Germany—John having been really bishop of Mecklenburg (see above, p. 90). Rafn, 461-2.

[a] Luden, viii. 103-4; Giesel. II. i. 404; Neand. vi. 348.

[b] Hard. vi. 725.

[c] Hahn, i. 31; C. Schmidt, i. 33.

[d] Giesel. II. i. 408.

broke the crucifix.[e] He denounced the payment of tithes, and said that some parts of Scripture were not to be believed, although, when summoned before the bishop of the diocese, he alleged scriptural texts as evidence of his mission. For a time Leutard found many proselytes; but the greater part of them were recovered by the bishop, and their leader drowned himself in a well.[f] In another quarter, Vilgard, a grammarian of Ravenna, who was put to death for his heresy, attempted a revival of the classical paganism—maintaining "that the doctrines of the poets were in all things to be believed"; and we are told that demons used to appear to him by night under the names of Virgil, Horace, and Juvenal.[g] The historian from whom we derive our knowledge of Vilgard and Leutard relates also that paganism was very common in Sardinia, and that many professors of it went from that island into Spain, where they attempted to spread their opinions, but were driven out by the catholics.[h]

A sect of Manichæans is said to have been detected in Aquitaine in 1017,[i] and in 1022[k] a more remarkable party of the same kind was discovered at Orleans. These are reported to have derived their opinions from a female teacher,[l] who came out of Italy, and was so "full of the devil" that she could convert the most learned clerks.[m]

[e] "Crucem et Salvatoris imaginem." Perhaps, however, these were distinct things.

[f] Rad. Glab. ii. 11; Hahn, i. 31.

[g] Rad. Glab. ii. 12.

[h] Ib.

[i] Ademar, iii. 49; Hahn, i. 33. The council of Charroux (Conc. Carofense) against these sectaries (Hard. vi. 844) has been variously dated from 1017 to 1031. Pagi says that it was called by William of Aquitaine in 1028, on finding that they were again making head (xvi. 565). See Ademar, iii. 69 (Pertz, iv.).

[k] Maitland, Letter to Mill, Lond. 1839, p. 29; Giesel. II, i. 408-10.

[l] Ademar, iii. 59, says from a *rustic*, who in some texts is described as of Perigueux. The accounts by Radulf the Bald, Ademar, and the unknown writer who is the chief authority on the subject—apparently a biographer of Arefast (Maitl. 19)—are given by Hardouin, vi. 821, seqq. See also the Appendix to Dr. Maitland's Letter. Heretics at Perigueux will come before us at a later date.

[m] Rad. Glab. iii. 8.

For a time the sect grew in secret. Its leaders were two ecclesiastics named Stephen and Lisoi—both respected for their piety, their learning, and their charity, while Stephen was confessor to Constance, the queen whom Robert of France had espoused on his forced separation from Bertha. Among the proselytes were ten canons of the cathedral, and many persons of rank, not only in Orleans and its neighbourhood, but even in the royal court.[n]

The discovery of these sectaries is variously related. The most circumstantial account[o] ascribes it to Arefast, a Norman noble, who, having allowed a chaplain named Herbert to go to Orleans for the purpose of study, was startled by finding on his return that he had there imbibed new and heretical opinions. At the desire of king Robert, to whom, through the medium of the duke of Normandy, he reported the matter, Arefast proceeded to Orleans for the purpose of detecting the heretics, and by the advice of a clergyman of Chartres, whom he had consulted on the way, he affected to become a pupil of Stephen and Lisoi.[p] They taught him that Christ was not really born of the virgin Mary; that He was not really crucified, buried, or risen; that baptism had no efficacy for the washing away of sin; that priestly consecration did not make the sacrament of the Redeemer's body and blood; that it was needless to pray to martyrs or confessors.[q] On Arefast's asking how he might attain salvation, if the means to which he had hitherto looked were unavailing, the teachers replied that they would bestow on him the imposition of their hands, which would cleanse him from all sin and fill him with the Holy Spirit, so that he should understand the Scriptures in their depth

[n] Rad. Glab. iii. 8; Ademar, iii. 59. Radulf calls Stephen by the name of Herbert. See n. in Bouquet, x. 35.

[o] Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 822.

[p] In an earlier age, St. Augustine wrote his book 'Contra Mendacium,' against the employment of such artifices for the detection of the Priscillianists. Retract. ii. 60.

[q] Hard. vi. 823; Hahn, i. 36-7.

and true dignity; that they would give him heavenly food, by which he would be enabled to see visions and to enjoy fellowship with God. By this mysterious food, which was represented as having the power to confirm disciples immoveably in the doctrines of the party, was doubtless meant something of a spiritual kind—the same with the *consolamentum* of somewhat later sectaries.[r] But a wild story was imagined in explanation of it—that the heretics at some of their meetings recited a litany to evil spirits; that the devil appeared in the form of a small animal;[s] that the lights were then extinguished, and each man embraced the woman nearest to him—even if she were his mother, his sister, or a consecrated nun. A child born of such intercourse was, at the age of eight days, burnt at a meeting of the sect; the ashes were preserved, to be administered under the name of "heavenly food"; and such was the potency of this "diabolical" sacrament that any one who received it became irrevocably bound to the heresy.[t]

Robert, on receiving information from Arefast, repaired to Orleans, where the whole party of the sectaries was apprehended, and Arefast appeared as a witness against them. They avowed their doctrines, and expressed an assurance that these would prevail throughout the world. They professed to entertain views far above the apprehension of ordinary Christians—views taught to them inwardly by God and the Holy Spirit. They spoke with contempt of the doctrine of the Trinity, and of the miraculous evidence of Scripture. They maintained that the heavens and the earth were eternal and uncreated. They appear to have also maintained that the sins of sensuality were not liable to punishment, and that the

[r] Neand. vi. 352.

[s] Ademar says that the devil used to appear first as a negro, and then as an angel of light, and daily supplied the sectaries with money, iii. 59.

[t] Anon. ap. Hard. vi. 824.

ordinary duties of religion and morality were superfluous and useless.[u]

After a vain attempt to reclaim the sectaries, they were condemned to death. Such of them as were clerks were deposed and were stripped of their robes. While the trial was proceeding, queen Constance, by her husband's desire, had stood on the steps of the church in which it was held, in order that her presence might restrain the populace from rushing in and tearing the accused to pieces. Bent on proving that her abhorrence of heresy prevailed over old personal attachment, she thrust her staff into one of her confessor's eyes as he was led out after condemnation. Two of the party, a clerk and a nun, recanted; thirteen remained steadfast, and approached the place of execution with a smiling and triumphant air, in the expectation of deliverance by miracle. One historian of the time relates that, when the flames were kindled around them, yet no interposition took place, they cried out that the devil had deceived them;[x] but according to another account they retained their exultant demeanour to the last.[y] Some dust, which was supposed to be the "heavenly food," was thrown into the flames with them.[z] The body of a canon named Theodatus, who had been a member of the sect but had died three years before, was taken from the grave and cast into unconsecrated ground.[a]

In 1025, Gerard, bishop of Arras and Cambray, a pupil of Gerbert,[b] discovered in the former city some sectaries who professed to have received their opinions from an

[u] Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 36; Anon. ap. Hard. 825. These authorities do not altogether agree. Some Protestant writers, as Basnage, have contended that, since the Orleans sectaries disparaged the sacraments, they cannot have been wrong in any other point! (See Schröckh, xxiii. 331.) Mr. Faber maintains that "they were no Manichæans, but, on the contrary, resolute and heaven-supported martyrs to the pure and unadulterated faith of the Gospel." 'The Vallenses and Albigenses,' quoted by Maitland, Letter to Mill, 12.

[x] Rad. Glab. ap. Bouquet, x. 38

[y] Ademar, iii. 59.

[z] Anon. ap. Hard. vi 826.

[a] Ademar, iii. 59.

[b] Patrol. cxlii. 1267.

Italian named Gundulf.[c] The bishop placed them before a council, and drew forth an acknowledgment of their doctrines. They denied the utility of baptism and the eucharist, resting their objections to baptism on three grounds—the unworthiness of the clergy; the fact that the sins renounced at the font were afterwards actually committed; and the idea that an infant, being incapable of faith or will, could not be benefited by the profession of others.[d] They were charged with denying the use of penance,[e] with setting at nought the church, with condemning marriage,[f] with refusing honour to the confessors, and limiting it to apostles and martyrs alone.[g] They held that churches were not more holy than other buildings; that the altar was merely a heap of stones, and the cross was but like other wood.[h] They condemned episcopal ordination, the distinction of orders and ranks in the ministry,[i] the use of bells, incense, images, and chanting,[k] and the practice of burying in consecrated ground,[l] which they asserted that the clergy encouraged for the sake of fees. It would seem also that they denied the resurrection of the body.[m] In answer to the bishop, they professed that their opinions were scriptural; that their laws bound them to forsake the world, to abstain from fleshly lusts, to earn their maintenance by the work of their hands, to show kindness to those who opposed them. If they observed these rules, they had no need of baptism; if they neglected the rules, baptism could not profit them.[n]

Gerard combated the opinions of the party at great length, with arguments agreeable to the theology of the

[c] Synod. Atrebat. ib. 1271.
[d] Ib. 1272.
[e] Ib. 1296.
[f] Ib. 1299.
[g] Ib. 1301.
[h] Ib. 1284, 1304.
[i] Ib. 1291, 1294, 1307.
[k] Ib. 1286, 1291, 1303, 1306.
[l] "In atriis domus Domini." Ib. 1295.
[m] Schröckh, xxiii. 334, seqq.; Hahn, § 41.
[n] atrol. cxlii. 1272.

age; and, although we may smile at the miraculous stories which he adduced,[o] we must honour his wisdom and excellent temper. He blamed them especially for holding an opinion of their own merits which was inconsistent with the doctrine of divine grace.[p] The sectaries, who appear to have been men of simple mind and of little education, were convinced—rather, it would seem, by the bishop's legends than by his sounder reasons. They prostrated themselves before him, and expressed a fear that, since they had led others into error, their sin was beyond forgiveness.[q] But he comforted them with hopeful assurances, and, on their signing a profession of orthodoxy, received them into the communion of the church.[r]

Heresy of a Manichæan character was also taught at Toulouse, where, although the professors of it who were detected were put to death,[s] their opinions continued to spread in the district; and in 1044, Heribert, archbishop of Milan, when on a visitation of his province, discovered a sect at Monteforte, near Turin.[t] The chief teacher of this sect was named Gerard; it was patronised by the countess of Monteforte, and among its members were many of the clergy. When questioned as to his belief, Gerard gave orthodox answers; but on further inquiry it proved that these answers were evasive. The sectaries held that by the Son of God was meant the human soul, beloved by God and born of Holy Scripture; that the Holy Spirit was the understanding of divine things;[u] that they might be bound and loosed by persons who were authorized for the work, but that these were not the clergy

[o] *E.g.*, coll. 1282-3.

[p] Patrol. cxlii. 1309-10; Hahn, i. 39-41.

[q] Patrol. cxlii. 1284.

[r] Ib. 1311-12

[s] Ademar, iii. 59.

[t] Gieseb. II. i. 412-13. The account of this sect is taken from Landulf, ii. 27 (Pertz, viii.); that given by Radult the Bald, under an earlier date (iv. 2), is considered by Neander to be fabulous. vi. 359.

[u] Neander thinks that with these opinions the literal doctrine of the Godhead may also have been held. vi. 360.

of the church. They said that they had a high priest different from the pontiff of Rome—a high priest who was not tonsured, one besides whom there was no other high priest and no sacrament;[x] that he daily visited their brethren who were scattered throughout the world, and that, when God bestowed him on them, they received forgiveness of all sin.[y] They had a peculiar hierarchy of their own; they lived rigidly, ate no flesh, fasted often, kept up unceasing prayer by alternate turns, and observed a community of goods. They inculcated the duty of virginity, living with their wives as mothers or sisters, and believed that, if all mankind would be content to live in purely spiritual union, the race would be propagated after the manner of bees.[z] They considered it desirable to suffer in this life in order to avert sufferings in the life to come; hence it was usual that those among them who had escaped outward persecution should be tortured and put to death by their friends.

The members of the sect were seized and were removed to Milan. Attempts were made to reclaim them, but without effect; and the magistrates, on learning that they had endeavoured to gain converts among the country people, ordered them, although without the archbishop's consent, to be carried to a place outside the city, where they were required, on pain of burning, to bow to the cross, and to profess the catholic faith. Almost all refused; they covered their eyes with their hands, and rushed into the fire which was prepared for them.

It is generally assumed by modern writers, on grounds

[x] "Non est alius pontifex, nec mysterium."

[y] Hahn (i. 45) supposes that a human priest was meant. Baur (Manich Religions-system, 304) refers the description to Christ in the form of the sun, circling round the earth, according to the Manichæan doctrine ("Alius in cœlo circumiens radiis suis etiam de cloacis membra dei vestri colligit." Aug. c. Faust. xx. 10); Gieseler (II. i. 413), and C. Schmidt (ii. 146), to the Holy Ghost, which seems to agree best with the last words in the text, and with "mysterium."

[z] Hahn, i. 44.

which it is impossible to discover, that the statement of Heribert's freedom from any share in the fate of these unfortunate fanatics is untrue. But in another quarter, at least, a voice was raised by a bishop in behalf of Christian principle and humanity as to the treatment of religious error. Wazo, bishop of Liége, who died in 1048, received a letter from Roger, bishop of Châlons-on-the-Marne, reporting the appearance of some heretics who avowed the doctrines of Manes, and supposed him to be the Holy Ghost. Among other things, Roger states that even the most uneducated persons, when perverted to this sect, became more fluent in their discourse than the most learned clerks; and he asks how he should deal with them. Wazo tells him in reply, that forcible measures are inconsistent with our Lord's parable of the tares; that bishops do not at their ordination receive the sword; that their power is not that of killing but of making alive; that they ought to content themselves with excluding those who are in error from the church, and preventing them from spreading the infection. The writer who has preserved the correspondence enforces this advice by the authority of St. Martin,[a] and expresses a belief that the bishop of Tours would have strongly reprobated the punishment of some sectaries who were put to death at Goslar in 1052.[b]

The origin of the sects which thus within a short period appeared in so many quarters is matter of doubt and controversy. The heretical parties north of the Alps professed for the most part to have received their opinions immediately from Italy; but it is asked whether they had been introduced into that country by Paulician refugees, the offspring of the Paulicians who in 969 had been trans-

[a] See vol. i. p. 408.

[b] Gesta Episcop. Leodiensium, 62-4 (Pertz, viii.). For the sectaries of Goslar, see Herm. Contr. A.D. 1052. For the history of the increased severity of punishment for heresy, Planck, IV. ii. 442-52.

ported by John Tzimisces from Armenia to Thrace, and established as guards of the western frontiers of his empire, with permission to retain their religion ;[c]—or whether they were derived from Manichæans who, notwithstanding the vigorous measures of Leo the Great and other popes for the suppression of the sect, had secretly continued to transmit their doctrines from generation to generation in Italy.[d] The avowal of the party at Monteforte, that they did not know from what part of the world they had come,[e] which had been cited in behalf of the connexion with Paulicianism, appears rather to favour the opposite view, inasmuch as it would seem to imply not only a foreign origin (which was common to both Manichæans and Paulicians), but an establishment of their doctrines in Italy long before the then recent time at which Paulicianism had been introduced into Europe. Moreover the sectaries of Monteforte differed from the Paulicians in the rejection of flesh and of marriage, in the system of their hierarchy, in maintaining the distinction between elect and hearers; and the western sects in general paid honour to Manes, whereas the Paulicians anathematized him. The indistinctness with which the Manichæan tenets appear in some of the cases has been accounted for by supposing that the obscure followers of Manes, lurking in corners for centuries, were kept together rather by external observances than by any accurate knowledge of the system which they professed ; while something must also be allowed for the defectiveness of the notices which have reached us. It seems, therefore, possible that the new heretics may have derived their opinions from the Mani-

[c] See Gibbon, v. 281 : Anna Comnena, l. xiv. pp. 450-2, ed. Paris.

[d] Mosheim (ii. 391), Gibbon (iv. 283), Schröckh (xxiii. 334, 345), and Dr. Maitland ('Facts and Documents relating to the Albigenses and Waldenses,' Lond. 1832, sect. iv.), advocate the theory of a connexion with the Paulicians. Gieseler takes the opposite side (II. i. 405). Others suggest the Priscillianists or the Euchites (ib. · Neand. vi. 348). See C. Schmidt, i. 18.

[e] Landulf, ii. 28, p. 66.

chæans; and, according to the advocates of this view, it was not until the east had been brought into communication with the west by the crusades that the western sectaries learnt to trace a likeness between themselves and the Paulicians, which, by means of fabulous inventions, was then referred to a supposed connexion in earlier times. But there seems to be a deficiency of proof for the supposition that the Manichæan sect had continued to exist in Italy—the only evidence of its existence after the time of Gregory the Great being apparently the mention of some heretics who are styled Arians, but may (it is suggested) possibly have been Manichæans, at Padua in the tenth century.[f]

In the east also the beginning of the eleventh century was marked by the rise or by the increased activity of some heretical sects—as the Athinggani, the Children of the Sun, and the Euchites; but their influence was so limited that it is unnecessary here to give any particular account of them.[g]

CHAPTER IX.

SUPPLEMENTARY.

I. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) THE relations of the papacy with secular powers, and especially with the emperors of the west, were

[f] Dr. Maitland says (p. 89) that he can find no Manichæans in Europe for more than 400 years before the affair at Orleans. The only evidence which Gieseler produces is the continued denunciation of Manichæans in the commission given to bishops. But it is clear that this was merely a form retained after the cause of it had passed away (see above, vol. iii. p. 66, note [b]); and, moreover, it describes the Manichæans not as Italians, but as Africans. The mention of the Paduan heretics is taken from Höfler (i. 211-12); they were discovered by a bishop named Peter (A.D. 919-22), and were extinguished by one of his successors, Gauzelin, half a century later.

[g] See for these sects Neand vi 341-7; Giesel. II. i. 407-3.

governed rather by circumstances than by any settled principles. On each side there were claims which were sometimes admitted and sometimes denied by the other party; but even when they were admitted, the enforcement of them depended on the questions whether the claimant were strong and whether circumstances were favourable to him.

The German emperors still retained the same rights of sovereignty over Rome which had been held by the Carolingians. The imperial share in the appointment of the pope by means of commissioners continued, and popes were even glad to sanction it afresh, as a means of averting the disorders incident to an election carried on amid the fury of the Roman factions and the violence of the neighbouring nobles. A synod under John IX. in 898, when Lambert had been crowned as emperor, enacted that, for the prevention of such tumults and scandals as had taken place through the absence of imperial commissioners, the presence of commissioners should be necessary at future elections;[a] and in another canon it threatens the emperor's indignation, as well as spiritual penalties, against any who should renew the disorders which had been usual on the death of a pope, when the palace was invaded by plunderers, who often extended their depredations over the city and its suburbs.[b] And, although the document bearing the name of Leo VIII., which confers on Otho the Great and his successors the power of nominating to the papacy as well as to the empire, is probably spurious, its provisions agree with the state of things which actually existed at the time.[c] The emperor was regarded as having the right to decide the

[a] C. x. ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 158; or Hard. vi. 489. This synod has sometimes been wrongly dated in 904. See above, p. 16; Pagi, xv. 489, 494, 529; Murat. Ann. V. i. 307; ii. 15; Giesel. II. i. 210.

[b] C. xi. The plunder of a bishop's property on his death was usual elsewhere. Atto, in Patrol. cxxxiv. 87.

[c] See above, p. 25, note [x].

appeals of Roman subjects who had been aggrieved by the pope.[d] Emperors even deposed popes, and that not by any wanton exercise of force, but as if in the fulfilment of a duty attached to their office; thus we have seen that the proceedings of Otho the Great against the wretched young debauchee John XII. were undertaken reluctantly and as a matter of necessity.[e] It was considered that even the pope was not irresponsible on earth, and that for the execution of manifest justice on the chief pastor of the church the highest secular authority was entitled to intervene.[f] Yet on the whole the popes were gaining, and were preparing to secure advantages for their successors.

It seems probable that Charlemagne, in projecting the revival of the Roman empire, may have hoped to become master of the popes; but the result was advantageous to the papacy. Leo III. surprised Charlemagne himself into receiving the crown from his hands; and although the great emperor was careful that his son should assume it in such a manner that it should appear to be held independently of the Roman sanction, Lewis submitted to be crowned afresh by Stephen IV. The popes continued to crown the emperors until an opinion was settled in the minds of men that the highest of secular dignities could only be conferred by God himself through the instrumentality of His chief minister, the successor of St. Peter; and, although the possession of the Italian kingdom was regarded as implying a title to the empire, the imperial name was not assumed by the German sovereigns of Italy until after a coronation at Rome by the pope.[g]

[d] Schmidt, ii. 167.

[e] P. 22. Humbert, however, regards the extinction of the Othos in the third generation as a judgment on their interference in spiritual things. Adv. Simoniacos, iii. 15 (Patrol. cxliii.).

[f] Schmidt, ii. 167, 216.

[g] Ducange, s. v. *Imperator*, p. 772; Planck, iii. 270.

As the eastern bishops, by appealing to the emperor in their differences, had established an imperial supremacy in spiritual things, so the princes of the west, by referring their quarrels to the pope, and by asking him to ratify their conquests, contributed to invest him with a power of arbitration and control which more and more claimed a superiority over all secular government. And this was enhanced by the pope's assumption of an universal censorship of morals, and by his wielding the terrors of excommunication, which were able to make kings tremble, not only by the direct exclusion from spiritual privileges, but through the apprehension of the effects which such a sentence might produce among their people. The wideness and variety of the scene on which the popes acted were also conducive to the growth of their authority, since an attempt which was foiled by the energy of one opponent succeeded elsewhere against the weakness of another, and thenceforth became a precedent for general application.[h] In newly-converted kingdoms, such as Hungary and Poland, the power of the pope over the national church was from the first established as a principle;[i] nor did the shameful degradation of the papacy during a large portion of the time now under review produce any considerable effect on its estimation in foreign countries, where little or nothing was heard of the pope as an individual, and he was regarded only as the successor of the chief apostle.[k]

The territorial power and income of the papacy were limited by the encroachments of the Italian nobles and by the invasions of the Saracens. But the popes found new sources of wealth in the practice of annexing to their see the revenues of bishopricks and abbeys in various parts of Christendom, and in payments levied from

[h] Schmidt, ii. 691.
[i] Planck, iii. 829.
[k] Ib. 270, 287, 372.

countries which were in communion with them, such as the Peter-pence of England and the tribute paid by Poland. And a continual succession of forgeries made it appear that such territories as the see of Rome possessed were but portions of a far larger inheritance, which of right belonged to it by virtue of donations bestowed by emperors and other sovereigns from the time of Constantine the Great.[l]

The policy of the popes towards the church aimed at centralizing all authority in the papacy. The principles of the forged decretals were taken as a foundation of their claims. Titles more pompous than before were given by those who wished to pay court to them, and were not refused. The epithet *universal*, which Gregory the Great had declared to be unfit for any Christian prelate, was addressed to Nicolas I. by Adventius bishop of Metz and by Charles the Bald;[m] and it afterwards became usual. Adventius styles Nicolas, "Your Majesty"[n]—a phrase which was very commonly used by Peter Damiani in addressing the popes of his time.[o] Theotmar, archbishop of Salzburg, and his suffragans addressed John IX. as "Supreme Pontiff and Universal Pope, not of a single city but of the whole world."[p] Some bishops avowed that they held their episcopate from God through St. Peter—*i.e.* through the apostle's successors in the see of Rome.[q] The claims involved in the new pretensions of the papacy were at first somewhat indefinite. What was meant by the pope's universal episcopate? What was his supreme judicature? When and how was this to be exercised? But when once such vague and sounding titles had been impressed on the

[l] Schröckh, xxii. 395-6, 400.

[m] Hard. v. 321, 323.

[n] Ib. 321, c.

[o] In the 12th century, Arnulf of Lisieux uses it to Geoffrey bishop of Chartres and papal legate. Patrol. cci. 171.

[p] Hard. vi. 483.

[q] As Heriveus, and a synod at Reims, A.D. 900; Ib. 467.

general mind, it was in the power of the popes to make almost any deductions whatever from them.[r] The claim which Nicolas advanced for obedience to all the decrees of popes rested on a different ground from that which had sometimes been put forward by his predecessors. In earlier times, such a claim was founded on the supposition that Rome was the most faithful guardian of apostolic faith and practice, or, at the utmost, that the pope was the highest expounder of the law—not that he pretended to a power of legislation. But now it was rested simply on the ground that Rome was Rome; and the matter set forth under the sanction of such a pretension consisted of a forgery which professed to derive a new and unheard-of system of papal domination from the earliest ages of the church.[s]

The party which relied on the authority of the decretals was bent on humbling the class of metropolitans. There are circumstances which seem to indicate that metropolitans had begun to assume power greater than that which had in earlier times belonged to them. But the design was not limited to reducing them within their ancient bounds; they were not to be allowed any power of judicature over bishops; and when they were stripped of their judicial power, their authority as superintendents or inspectors was not likely to be much regarded.[t] It was the interest of bishops to aid the popes in a course which annihilated the power of metropolitans and provincial synods over members of the episcopate, and subjected these to the pope alone. There were even inducements which might persuade metropolitans to consent to sacrifice the independence of their own order. They, in common with other bishops, were strengthened

[r] Planck, iii. 807-8; Gieseler, II. i. 254-5.

[s] Planck, iii. 812-15.

[t] Ib. 788, 790, 818.

against secular princes by an alliance with the papacy. They felt that their dignity was enhanced by a connexion with a power which exalted religion above all earthly authority;[u] and the use of the pall was of great effect in reconciling them to the change. The pall, originally a part of the imperial attire, had been at first bestowed by the eastern emperors on the patriarchs of their capital. In the fifth and sixth centuries it was conferred on other patriarchs; and in time it was given by popes and patriarchs to bishops, although the imperial consent was necessary before the honour could be conferred on a bishop whose predecessors had not enjoyed it.[x] The pall was sent by the popes to their vicars; it was regarded as the mark of a special connexion with the Roman see, to which the receiver was bound by a strict oath of subjection and obedience. When some metropolitans had thus received it, others, wishing to be on a level with them, made application for a like distinction, so that it

[u] Schröckh, xxii. 461; Planck, iii. 855.

[x] Ib. 857-8. There is much information as to the pall in Dr. Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' vol. ii. In the east, patriarchs gave it to all bishops (135). In the west it was attached (although probably not until after the time now under review) to the *bishopricks* of Ostia, Lucca, Verona, Parma, Autun, Dol, and Bamberg (157). It was buried with the person to whom it had been granted. (See Ducange, s. v. *Pallium*, 3.) Under Charlemagne, the pall was given with his consent, and probably according to his will (Waitz, iii. 354, see above, vol. iii. p. 212). Hildebert, as archbishop of Tours—a see which was long in continual conflict with the claims of the Breton church to independence of its metropolitan jurisdiction—argues that the pall had been bestowed on Baldric of Dol as a personal distinction only, and was not attached to his see. (Ep. ii. 35, A.D. 1126, Patrol. clxxi.) The claim of Dol rested on a fiction that a British archbishop named Samson—some say of York, some of Menevia (St. David's), while others suppose him to have been a regionary bishop, without any fixed see—established himself there, taking his pall with him. (Hoveden, 453; Wendover, iii. 144.) See Raine, i. 10; Girald. Cambr. de Jure, etc., Menev. Eccl. t. ii. 151, 167, with Wharton's notes; Invectiones, t. iii. 46-7, Itin. Kambriæ, ii. 1 (C. & M.); Innoc. III. Ep. ii. 82-8; Acta SS. Jul. 28; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 149-59; ii. 76, 91-6. Among Stephen of Tournay's letters (Patrol. ccxi.) are several from Philip Augustus and others, remonstrating with Innocent III. for favouring Dol in opposition to Tours. Cf. Innoc. Gesta, (Patrol. ccxiv. 82, etc.).

came to be regarded as the ensign of metropolitan dignity, and that this dignity came to be regarded as a gift of the pope.[y] Nicolas I., in his answer to the Bulgarians, lays it down that their future archbishop shall not exercise his office until he receive the pall from Rome; such, he says, is the usage in Gaul, Germany, and other countries;[z] and John VIII., at the synod of Ravenna in 877, enacted that every metropolitan should, within three months after his election, send to Rome a statement of his faith, together with a petition for the pall.[a] While the metropolitans thus received some compensation for the loss of their independent power, in their special connexion with Rome, and in their exercise of jurisdiction as delegates of the pope, the pall became not only a mark of their subjection, but a source of profit to the Roman treasury. Although Gregory I. had positively forbidden that anything should be paid for it,[b] fees were now exacted, and so heavy were they in some cases that Canute, on his pilgrimage to Rome, complained to the pope of the oppressive amount required from English archbishops, and obtained a promise of an abatement in future.[c] That metropolitans submitted to exorbitant payments for the sake of obtaining this ensign, is a proof that the advantage of such a sanction for their authority must have been very strongly felt.

The metropolitans lost less in England and in Germany than elsewhere. In England the whole foundation of the church rested on the primacy of Canterbury. In Germany the metropolitans of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Salzburg, held high dignities of the empire as annexed to their sees. Yet, in the case of the great German prelates, there was the disadvantage that the

[y] Planck, iii. 863-9.
[z] C. 73. Hard. v. 377.
[a] C. 1. Hard. vi. 184.
[b] Patrol. lxxvii. 1347.
[c] Canut. ap. Will. Malmesb. 319.

popular opinion unconsciously referred their power not to their spiritual but to their secular offices.[d]

In addition to their vicars, the popes appointed *legates* to exercise some of their functions, such as that of holding councils for the investigation of cases which had been referred to Rome, or in which the popes took it on themselves to interfere. These legates were sometimes ecclesiastics sent from Italy; but, as foreign ecclesiastics were regarded with suspicion by princes, it was more usual to give the legatine commission to some bishop of the country in which the inquiry was to take place.[e] Even kings were sometimes invested with the authority of papal deputies, as we have seen in the instance of Charles the Bald at the council of Pontyon.[f]

The claim of the popes to exclusive jurisdiction over bishops was uncontested from the time of the victory gained by John XV. and Gregory V. in the affair of Arnulf of Reims.[g] Persons nominated to bishopricks, if they found any difficulty in obtaining consecration from their own metropolitan, sought it at the hands of the pope; and a Roman synod under Benedict VI., held probably in 983, with a view to the suppression of simony, directed that not only bishops but priests or deacons should repair to Rome for ordination, if it were not to be obtained without payment at home.[h] Yet to the end of the period the prelates of France and Germany resisted some attempts of the popes to encroach on their rights; for the title of "universal bishop" was admitted only as implying a power of general oversight—not as entitling the popes to exercise episcopal functions in every diocese.[i] This resistance was especially shown when the popes attempted to interfere with

[d] Planck, iii. 795-6; Schmidt, i. 685.
[e] Ib. 696; Planck, iii. 429.
[f] Vol. iii. p. 408; Schröckh, xxii. 469.
[g] Planck, iii. 844.
[h] Hard. vi. 712; Planck, iii. 883.
[i] Ib. 832; Giesel. II. i. 255, 258.

the penitential discipline. Every bishop had been formerly regarded as the sole judge in cases of penance within his own diocese—as the only person who could relax the penance which he had himself imposed. The bishop's power of absolution was still unassailed; there were not as yet any cases reserved for the decision of the pope alone. But the popes began to claim a jurisdiction as to penance similar to that which they were gradually establishing over the church in other respects; they asserted a right of absolving from the penance to which offenders had been sentenced by other bishops. The resort of penitents to Rome had been encouraged by various circumstances. In many instances bishops had themselves consulted the pope, or had recommended an application to him, either with a view of escaping responsibility in difficult cases, or in order that the long and toilsome journey to Rome might itself in some measure serve as a penitential exercise.[k] But when penitents began to flock to Rome for the purpose of obtaining from the pope the absolution which was refused by their own diocesans, or in the belief that the absolution of St. Peter's successor was of superior virtue,[l] the practice drew forth strong and frequent protests from councils and from individual bishops.[m] Ahyto (or Hatto)

[k] Planck, iii. 684-5.

[l] Nicol. I. Ep. 208 ad Carol. Calv ap. Hard. v. 235: Neand. vi. 151.

[m] See Morin. de Pœnitentia, l. vii. c. 16. A bishop who had been irregularly intruded into the see of Le Puy-en-Velay, was set aside by the Roman synod of 998 (see above, p. 40), and it was ordered that a new bishop should be consecrated by the pope (cc. 5-7). The reason of this order was, that the metropolitan, the archbishop of Bourges, had been concerned in the consecration of the intruder; but the consequence was that Sylvester II., on consecrating the new bishop in 999, exempted him from the jurisdiction of all but the pope, and that his successors continued to enjoy this privilege, with that of being consecrated by the pope himself, to which Leo IX., in the middle of the 11th century, added the dignity of the pall. (Sylvest. II. Ep. 4, Patrol. cxxxix.; Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 133-4.) The archbishops of Toledo and Tarragona having disputed to which of them the bishop of Burgos ought to be suffragan, Urban II., in 1097, exempted the diocese from the jurisdiction of both. The exemption was confirmed by Alexander III. and by Lucius III., and in 1574 Burgos was

of Basel, about 820, orders that penitents who wish to visit the apostolic city should first confess their sins at home, "because they are to be bound or loosed by their own bishop or priest, and not by a stranger."[n] When an English earl, who had been excommunicated by Dunstan for contracting an unlawful marriage, had succeeded, by the employment of influence and money at Rome, in obtaining from the pope a mandate that the archbishop should restore him, Dunstan firmly refused to comply. "I will gladly obey," he said, "when I see him repentant; but so long as he rejoices in his sin, God forbid that, for the sake of any mortal man, or to save my own life, I should neglect the law which our Lord has laid down for His church."[o] And to the end of the period a like opposition to the papal assumptions in this respect was maintained.[p] All that was as yet conceded to the pope was a power of granting absolution on the application, or with the consent, of the bishop by whom penance had been imposed.[q] But in this, as in other matters, principles had already been introduced by which the popes were in no long time entirely to overthrow the ancient rights of the episcopal order.[r]

(2.) The secular importance of bishops increased. They took precedence of counts, and at national assemblies they sat before dukes.[s] In France many prelates took advantage of the weakness of the later Carolingians, or of the unsettled state of the new dynasty, to obtain grants of royalties (*regalia*)—privileges especially belonging to the crown, such as the right to

made a metropolitan see by Gregory XIII. Mariana, vi. 164, note, edd. Sabau y Blanco.

[n] Capit. 18 (Patrol. cv.).

[o] Osbert. Vita Dunst. ap. Mabill. vii. 685.

[p] See canons 16 and 18 of the council of Selingenstadt, A.D. 1022; a Letter of Fulbert to John XIX., in Bouquet, x. 473; and the second council of Limoges, A.D. 1031, in Hardouin, vi. 890-2.

[q] Nat. Alex. xiii. 135; Planck, iii 837, 848; Giesel. II. i. 258.

[r] Planck, iii. 690, 875.

[s] Ib. 486.

coin money, to establish markets, to levy tolls, to build fortifications, and to hold courts of justice, even for the trial of capital offences.[t] Towards the end of the period, however, these bishops for the most part found it necessary, for the sake of security against the aggressions of the nobles, to place themselves under the feudal protection of the sovereign; and in consideration of this the royalties were again resigned.[u]

But it was in Germany that the bishops acquired the greatest power. The repeated changes of dynasty in that country were favourable to them. Each new race found it expedient to court them; and the emperors, partly out of respect for religion, partly from a wish to strengthen themselves by the support of the clergy, and to provide a counterpoise to the lay nobility,[x] favoured the advance of the order by bestowing on them grants of royalties, and whole counties or even duchies, with corresponding rights of jurisdiction.[y]

In proportion as the bishops became more powerful, it was more important for princes to get the appointment of them into their own hands. The capitulary of Lewis the Pious, which enacted a return to the ancient system of free elections, had never taken effect to any considerable extent. In France, in England, and in Germany, the choice of bishops was really with the sovereign; even where the right of nomination was contested (as it was by Hincmar in the cases of Cambray and Beauvais),[z] the opponents of the crown allowed that the royal licence must precede the election of a bishop, and that the royal confirmation must follow on it. Although the church petitioned for free elections, it

[t] Murat. Antiq. Ital. t. vi. Dissert. 71; Mosh. ii. 284; Planck, iii. 459.

[u] Ib. 492.

[x] W. Malmesb. 655; Giesebr. ii. 74.

[y] Planck, iii. 496; Schröckh, xxii. 589; Luden, vii. 194; Giesel. II. i. 244; Giesebr. ii. 9.

[z] Vol. iii. pp. 371, 414.

would have been well content to secure a right of rejecting persons who were unfit in respect of morals or of learning.[a] Even a pope, John X., allows that, by ancient custom, the king's command is required in order to the appointment of a bishop, although he also mentions the necessity of election by the clergy and of acclamation by the laity.[b] Election was for the most part nothing more than acquiescence in the sovereign's nomination; so that while Adam of Bremen always speaks of bishops as being appointed by the emperor, Thietmar generally speaks of them as elected.[c] A sovereign might refuse to confirm an election, and any substitute proposed by him in such a case was sure to be accepted by the electors.[d] And it was in vain that complaints were raised against the system of royal control, or that attempts were made to limit it by laying down new rules as to the qualifications requisite for the episcopate.[e]

A remarkable proof of the degree in which the German sovereigns believed the disposal of bishopricks to be a right of their own office, is found in the fact that Henry the Fowler granted to Arnulf duke of Bavaria the privilege of appointing bishops within that territory.[f] The saintly emperor Henry II. made bishops by direct nomination—possibly (as has been suggested) from a wish to secure the appointment of better men than the flocks would have been likely to choose for themselves; and it is said that a comparison between the bishops who owed their sees to his patronage and those who were afterwards elected by the clergy bears out the

[a] Conc. Valent. III. A.D. 855, c. 7; Planck, iii. 396-8, 407; Schmidt, i. 667.

[b] Ad. Herim. Colon. ap. Hard. vi. 455; ad Carol. III. ib. 456. See Schröckh, xxii. 423.

[c] Ib. See Acta SS., Oct. 26, pp. 974-5.

[d] Schmidt, ii. 206-8; Giesel. II. i. 245.

[e] Planck, iii. 399, 406-9.

[f] Thietmar, i. 15.

wisdom and the honesty of his policy.[g] We are told that the emperors were sometimes directed by visions to promote certain deserving persons to vacant bishopricks, or to refrain from opposing their election.[h]

In the Greek church also the emperors continued to nominate to the most important sees.[i] Nicephorus Phocas enacted that no bishop should be appointed without the imperial consent, and when a see was vacant, he committed the revenues to the care of an officer, who was bound to limit the expenditure to a certain sum, and to pay over the residue to the treasury.[k] The patriarch Polyeuctus refused to crown John Tzimisces, unless on condition that the law of Nicephorus should be abrogated; but the emperor, immediately after his coronation, proceeded to exercise his prerogative by nominating a patriarch for Antioch.[l]

Bishopricks became objects of ambition for persons of noble or even royal birth, so that it was at length a rare and surprising case, and even serious objections were raised, when any one of humble origin was elevated to such a position.[m] Attempts were made to render the possession of sees hereditary in certain families; and in Germany these attempts took a peculiar and remarkable turn. A prelate was often able to secure the succession to his see for a nephew or a cousin; and the interest of families in such cases led them not to impoverish but to enrich the see, with a view to the benefit of their own members who were to hold it. It was regarded as a part of the family property, and the bishop might rely on the support of his kinsmen in all his differences and feuds

[g] Schmidt, ii. 209; Schröckh, xxii. 425. See hereafter, book VI. c. xiii. sect. 1-2.

[h] Schröckh, xxii. 423.

[i] Ib. 426.

[k] Cedren. 658.

[l] Ib. 664-5: Schröckh, xxii. 427.

[m] *E.g.*, in the case of Gerbert; of Willigis of Mentz (Thietmar, iii. 3); of Durandus of Liege (Sigeb. Gembl. A.D. 1021); of Otho of Bamberg (Pertz, xii. 751).

with his other neighbours.[n] Henry II. was fond of bestowing bishopricks on wealthy persons, who might be likely to add to the riches of their sees, such as Meinwerc of Paderborn, of whose relations with his imperial patron and kinsman many humorous tales are told by his biographer.[o]

But the disposal of bishopricks from motives of family interest naturally introduced great abuses. Atto bishop of Vercelli, who in the earlier part of the tenth century wrote a treatise 'On the Hardships of the Church,' tells us that the princes of his time were indifferent as to the character of those whom they nominated to high spiritual office—that wealth, relationship, and subserviency were the only qualities which they looked for;[p] and not only unfit persons, but boys, were appointed to sees,[q] from those of Rome and Constantinople downwards. Atto describes one of these boy prelates, at his consecration, as answering by rote the questions which were put to him, either having been crammed with the answers or reading them from a memorandum; as dreading, in case of failure, not lest he should lose the grace of consecration, but lest he should fall under the rod of his tutor; and having no conception either of the responsibilities of his office, or of the temptations which would beset him.[r] A particularly scandalous case was that of Theophylact, whom his father, the emperor Romanus, resolved to raise to the patriarchate of Constantinople on a vacancy which occurred in 928. As the prince was only eleven years of age, a monk named Trypho was made temporary patri-

[n] Planck, iii. 491-5.

[o] Vita Meinwerci, cc. 11, etc: (Pertz, xi.); Acta SS., Jun. 5.

[p] De Pressuris Eccles. pt. ii. (Patrol. cxxxiv. 69). Atto held his see from 924 to 960.

[q] De Press. Eccl. ii. col. 75. He says, as to the general condition of bishops—"Irreligiose eliguntur, inaniter ordinantur, indifferenter accusantur, injuste opprimuntur, perfide dejiciuntur, crudeliter aliquando et necantur." p. 85.

[r] Col. 75.

arch; but when desired to resign his office, three years later, he was unwilling to comply. It is said that Theophanes, bishop of Cæsarea, waited on him, and, with great professions of friendship, told him that the emperor intended to eject him on the ground that he was ignorant of letters: "If," he said, "you can disprove this objection, you have nothing to fear." At the suggestion of his insidious visitor, Trypho wrote his name and style on a paper, which was afterwards annexed to another, containing an acknowledgment that he was unfit for the patriarchate, and expressing a wish to retire from it. Trypho was thus set aside, and, after a vacancy of a year and a half, Theophylact, at the age of sixteen, became patriarch in 933, being installed in his office by legates of pope John XI.[8] During three-and-twenty years Theophylact disgraced the patriarchal throne. He introduced indecent music and dances into the service of the church; but he was chiefly distinguished by his insane fondness for horses, of which he kept more than two thousand. Instead of the ordinary diet, they were fed with dates, figs, raisins, almonds, and other fruits, which were steeped in costly wines and flavoured with the most delicate spices. It is related that once, while performing the eucharistic rites on Thursday before Easter, the patriarch was informed that a favourite mare had foaled; whereupon he immediately left the church, and, after having gratified himself by the sight of the mother and her offspring, he returned to finish the service of the day. In order to provide for the vast expenses of his stud, he shamelessly sold all sorts of spiritual offices. Theophylact's end was worthy of his life; his head was dashed

[8] Theoph. Contin. ed. Bonn. 421-2; Cedren. 627-9; Finlay, ii. 356. Liutprand says that Theophylact was an eunuch; and that his father the emperor, by presents to Alberic (see above, p. 19), obtained letters from the pope by which the patriarch and his successors were authorized to wear the pall without special permission. Legatio, 62. See Ffoulkes, ii. 27.

against a wall in riding, and, after having lingered two years, he died in consequence of the accident.[t]

Complaints of simony in the appointment to ecclesiastical offices, whether high or low, are incessant during this period.[u] The simoniacal practices of sovereigns are supposed to have originated from the custom of offering gifts on being admitted to their presence. Those who were promoted by them to ecclesiastical dignities testified their gratitude by presents, which in course of time took the nature of stipulated payments.[x] The working of the system became worse when bishops, instead of making payment at the time of their promotion, relied on the revenues of their sees for the means of raising the money, as in such cases they were tempted to dilapidate the episcopal property, to oppress their tenants, to engage in unseemly disputes, and to allow their churches to go to ruin.[y] In respect of simony the German emperors were pure, as compared with other western princes; but although some of them made formal resolutions to refrain from selling their patronage, and to restrain the simoniacal practices of other men,[z] their necessities interfered with the fulfilment of their good intentions.[a] Cardinal Humbert, who had enjoyed an opportunity of observing the Greek church when engaged on a mission to Constantinople, states that the sale of bishopricks was not practised there as in the west.[b] The practice of paying for preferments, as distinguished from ordination, found defenders; but the defence was indignantly met by such writers as Humbert[c] and Peter Damiani. The

[t] Cedren. 638-9.

[u] As a specimen of simoniacal transactions, see the agreement for the sale of the bishoprick of Albi, Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 182, and Append. 202.

[x] Stenzel, i. 108.

[y] Humb. adv. Simoniacos, ii. 35-6 Patrol. cxliii.).

[z] Ib. iii. 7; Giesel. II. i. 250; Gfrörer, iv. 137-40.

[a] Such was the case of Conrad. See Wippo, c. 8; Luden, viii. 36, and note.

[b] Adv. Sim. iii. 10.

[c] Ib. iii. 1, seqq. This work is in the form of a dialogue between *Cor-*

distinction between orders and benefices, says Peter, is as absurd as if one were to say that a man is father of his son's body only, and not of his soul.[d]

Bishops were invested in their sees by the western sovereigns. Symbolical forms of investiture are mentioned as early as the time of Clovis,[e] and it is said that Lewis the Pious invested bishops by delivering to them the pastoral staff.[f] But the use of such ceremonies does not appear to have been introduced as a regular practice until the age of the Othos,[g] and was perhaps not completely established until the end of the tenth century.[h] The investiture related to the temporalities of the see, which the sovereign was supposed to bestow on the bishops. Hincmar, in his answer to Adrian II., when desired to renounce communion with Charles the Bald,[i] marks the distinction between his temporalities, which were at the king's disposal, and his spiritual office, in which he regarded himself as independent. "If I were to act according to your judgment," he tells the pope, "I might continue to chant at the altar of my church, but over its property, its income, and its retainers, I should no longer have any power."[k] When the feudal system was established, it was natural that bishops, as well as dukes and counts, should be invested in their possessions, and they may have found their advantage in a tie which entitled them to the protection of their liege

reptor (the reformer) and *Corruptor* (the advocate of the existing system).

[d] See Epp. i. 13; v. 13.

[e] See Nat. Alex. xiii. 641; Giesel. II. i. 245. The various forms of investiture are given by Ducange, s. v. *Investitura*.

[f] Adam. Brem. i. 32. Ebbo, during his intrusion into Reims (see vol. iii. p. 384), is said to have *consecrated* with ring and staff. Conc. Suess. A.D. 853, ap. Hard. v. 51.

[g] See Humb. adv. Sim. iii. 11, col. 1156.

[h] Mosh. ii. 347; Planck, iii. 32. Marsilius of Padua (for whom see hereafter) says that pope Simplicius (A.D. 468, 483) was represented as the first who forbade taking investiture from a layman. This was, of course, a mistake; but I have not discovered the origin of it.

[i] See vol. iii. p. 397.

[k] Opera, ii. 697. See Planck, iii. 461, 472.

lord.[l] But it became a matter of complaint that the estates and temporal privileges of bishops were conferred on them by means of instruments which symbolized their spiritual character—the ring, the figure of marriage with the church, and the crozier or crook, the ensign of pastoral authority. The use of such instruments provoked objections, because they were liable to be interpreted as signifying that the spiritual powers of the episcopate were derived from the gift of earthly princes.[m]

By the institution of investiture sovereigns gained new means of control over bishops. They not only held over them the fear lest their gifts might be withdrawn,[n] but were able to use the investiture so as to secure for themselves the patronage of sees. In order to elude the royal nomination, bishops sometimes consecrated to a see immediately on the occurrence of the vacancy, and thus threw on the sovereign the difficulty and the odium of dislodging a prelate who was already in possession. But princes were now able to prevent such consecrations, by providing that on a bishop's death his ring and staff should at once be seized and sent to them by their officers; for without these insignia the consecration of a successor could not proceed.[o] Hence, as we shall see hereafter, it was complained that by the system of investiture the right of canonical election was annulled. Sometimes the election of a bishop was notified to the court, with a petition for his investiture, and in such cases it was always in the prince's power to substitute another person for him who had been chosen. Sometimes investiture was given in the name of the sovereign by the prelate who took the chief part in the consecration.[p]

[l] Planck, iii. 437, 458.

[m] Humb. adv. Sim. iii. 6; Nat. Alex. xiii. 639. See Ch. de Rémusat, 'S. Anselme,' 281.

[n] Planck, iii. 467.

[o] Ebbo, in Vita Otton. Babenberg., Pertz, xii. 827.

[p] Schröckh, xxii. 434-6; Planck, iii. 469.

Notwithstanding all the lofty pretensions which ecclesiastics now set up as to the superiority of spiritual over royal power,[q] they did not practically gain much.[r] Hincmar and his brethren of the council of Quiercy told Lewis of Germany that bishops ought not, like secular men, to be bound to vassalship; that it was a shameful indignity that the hands which had been anointed with holy chrism, and which daily consecrated the Redeemer's body and blood, should be required to touch the hands of a liege-lord in the ceremony of homage, or that the lips which were the keys of heaven should be obliged to swear fealty.[s] But they did not obtain any exemption in consequence of this representation; and Hincmar himself was afterwards, as a special affront, required to renew his oath of fealty to Charles the Bald.[t] Although bishops were exempt from the power of all inferior judges, kings still retained their jurisdiction over them.[u] Hincmar, in his greatest zeal for the immunities of the clergy, went only so far as to maintain that the royal judgment must be guided by the laws of the church.[x] The enactments of some synods, that a bishop should not be deposed except by twelve members of his own order,[y] are not to be regarded as withdrawing bishops from the judgment of the sovereign, but as prescribing the manner in which this should be exercised. And in cases of treason princes deposed by their own immediate authority.[z] When Hugh Capet brought Arnulf of Reims to trial before the synod of St. Basle, no complaint was made of his having already imprisoned him; the pre-

[q] See, for example, the council of St. Macra, A.D. 881, capit. i.; and above, vol. iii. p. 336.

[r] Giesel. II. i. 252.

[s] Ep. and Ludov. Germ. regem, c. 25. Hard. v. 475-6.

[t] See vol. iii. p. 409; Planck, iii. 483-5; Giesel. II. i. 246.

[u] Hincmar, Quaterniones (Patrol. cxxv. 1050, etc).

[x] Ep. 40 (Patrol. cxxvi.); see Planck, iii. 439.

[y] *E.g.*, Conc. Tribur. A.D. 895, c. 10.

[z] Planck, iii. 441; Giesel. II. i. 248.

siding archbishop's proposal, that before proceeding to the investigation the synod should petition for the security of Arnulf's life, is a proof that the king's power to inflict capital punishment on the accused prelate was admitted; and it was only through the weakness of Robert and through the support of the emperor Otho that the pope was able in that case eventually to triumph.[a]

While feeble princes yielded to the hierarchy, powerful princes often dealt forcibly with its members. Otho the Great, in punishment of political misdeeds, banished an archbishop of Mentz to Hamburg, and shut up a bishop of Strasburg in the monastery of Corbey;[b] and, for the offence of having received a duke of Saxony with honours too much resembling those which were paid to the imperial majesty, he obliged Adalbert, archbishop of Magdeburg, to compound by heavy penalties—a horse for every bell which had been rung and for every chandelier which had been lighted.[c] Conrad II., on his last expedition to Italy, carried about with him a train of captive bishops;[d] and when Henry III. deposed Widgers from the archbishoprick of Ravenna, the act was highly extolled by the greatest zealot for the privileges of the church, Peter Damiani.[e]

Although the German emperors, like the Carolingians, assembled synods, took part in them, and ratified their proceedings, they did not, like the Carolingians, publish the decrees as their own enactments.[f] And the privileges of sovereigns in general with respect to such assemblies were diminished. Although it was still acknowledged that they had the power of summoning councils, their right in this respect was no longer regarded as exclusive, so that both in France and in Germany councils were gathered

[a] Planck, iii. 440; Giesel. II. i. 247.

[b] Widukind, ii. 25 (Patrol. cxxxviii.).

[c] Thietmar, ii. 18.

[d] Wippo, Vita Chuonr. (Patrol. cxlii. 1245).

[e] Ep. viii. 2.

[f] Planck, iii. 419; Schmidt, ii. 204-6.

without asking the sovereign's permission.[g] Through the carelessness of the bishops, the custom of holding regular synods fell into disuse; and when they were revived in a later age, the powers which kings and emperors had formerly exercised in connexion with them were forgotten.[h]

It was regarded as a right of sovereigns to found bishopricks and archbishopricks, and the German emperors exercised it by erecting and endowing sees,—some of them perhaps as much from motives of policy as of devotion.[i] The consent of the prelates whose interest was affected by the new foundation was, however, regarded as necessary,[k] and in order to obtain it the founders were sometimes obliged to submit to concession and compromise. Henry II. even prostrated himself repeatedly before a council at Frankfort in 1006, that he might obtain its assistance in overcoming the objections raised by the bishop of Würzburg against the proposed see of Bamberg;[l] and when Otho III. took it on himself to erect the archbishoprick of Gnesen without asking the consent of the metropolitan of Posen, out of whose province that of Gnesen was to be taken, the chronicler who relates this speaks doubtfully as to the legality of the act.[m] The popes now began to claim the right of confirming these foundations; but, from the fact that princes laboured to propitiate the local prelates, instead of invoking the pope to

[g] Planck, iii. 420-2, 921-2.

[h] Ib. 423-5, 430-1.

[i] Mosheim, ii. 264; Schröckh, xxii. 427-8.

[k] *E.g.*, in the case of the bishoprick of Prague, where Wolfgang, in consenting to lessen the diocese of Ratisbon, acted against the advice of all his clergy. Othlon. 29. See above, p. 83.

[l] Thietmar, vi. 23; Planck, iii. 848. As to the foundation of Bamberg see Henry's charter (Diplom. 37), Patrol. cxl.; ib. coll. 66-91; Vita Henr. c. 2 (ib.); Giesebr. ii. 52, seqq.; and a letter from Arnulf, bishop of Halberstadt, entreating the bishop of Würzburg to consent (ib. cxxxix. 1498). The erection of the see was confirmed by John XVII. (Hard. vi. 769, 770) and by Benedict VIII. (Patrol. cxxxix. 1585). See Hefele, iv. 632, seqq.

[m] "Ut spero, legitime, sine consensu tamen præfati præsulis, etc." Thietmar, iv. 28. See above, p. 88.

overrule their objections, it is clear that the popes were not as yet supposed to have supreme jurisdiction in such cases.[n]

Towards the middle of the ninth century there were considerable dissensions on the subject of the chorepiscopi in France. They had become more and more dissatisfied with their position; they complained that their emoluments bore no proportion to their labour, as compared with those of the diocesan bishops, while on the other side there were complaints that the chorepiscopi were disposed to exceed the rights of their commission. The decretals, fabricated in the interest of the bishops, were adverse to the claims of the chorepiscopi.[o] Raban Maur, however, in consequence of an application from Drogo of Metz, wrote in favour of them, and especially in support of their power to ordain priests and deacons with the licence of their episcopal superiors.[p] The troubles occasioned by Gottschalk may perhaps have contributed to exasperate the difference between the two classes, for Gottschalk had been ordained by a chorepiscopus during the vacancy of the see of Reims; and, notwithstanding the powerful authority of the German primate, the order of chorepiscopi was abolished throughout Neustria by a council held at Paris in 849.[q]

In the eleventh century a new species of assistant bishops was for the first time introduced. Poppo, bishop of Treves, in 1041 requested Benedict IX. to supply him with a person qualified to aid him in pontifical acts, and the pope complied by sending an ecclesiastic named Gratian, who must doubtless have already received

[n] Schmidt, ii. 222.

[o] *E.g.*, Damasus, Ep. 5 (Hard. i. 768, seqq.).

[p] A.D. 847-8. Hard. v. 1417-24; Patrol. cx. 1195, seqq.

[q] Giesel. II. i. 69; Kunstmann's 'Hrabanus,' 146-8; Gfrörer, Karol i. 211, 256-8. There were, however, some chorepiscopi after this time. Hinschius, Prolegg. to the Decretals 203.

episcopal consecration.[r] The novelty of the case consisted in the application to the pope, and in the fact that the coadjutor was appointed by him. It was not, however, until a later time that such coadjutors became common in the church.[s]

The practice of taking part in war, which had so often been condemned by councils, became more general among bishops during this period. When the feudal relations were fully established, a bishop was bound, as a part of his duty towards his suzerain, to lead his contingent to the field in person, and it was only as a matter of special favour that a dispensation from this duty could be obtained.[t] The circumstances of the time, indeed, appeared in some measure to excuse the warlike propensities of bishops, who might think themselves justified in encouraging their flocks, even by their own example, to resist such formidable and pitiless enemies of Christendom as the Saracens, the Northmen, or the Hungarians.[u] Some prelates distinguished themselves by deeds of prowess, as Michael, bishop of Ratisbon, in the middle of the tenth century, who, after losing an ear and receiving other wounds in a battle with the Hungarians, was left for dead on the field. While he lay in this condition, a Magyar fell on him, with the intention of despatching him; but the bishop, "being strengthened in the Lord," grappled with his assailant, and, after a long struggle, succeeded in killing him. He then with great difficulty made his way to the camp of his own nation, where he was hailed with acclamations both as a priest and as a warrior; and his mutilation was thenceforth regarded as an honourable distinction.[x]

[r] Bened. IX. Ep. 5 (Patrol. cxli.). Papebroch improbably supposes this Gratian to have been the same who bought the papacy of Benedict. N. in loc.

[s] Planck, iii. 783-6.

[t] Ib. 464; Giesel. II. i. 247.

[u] Neand. vi. 83.

[x] Thietmar, ii. 17. The Saxon Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, under

(3.) Although donations of land were still made to the church, its acquisitions of this kind appear to have been less than in earlier times—partly, perhaps, because such gifts may have seemed to be less required.[y] The clergy, therefore, felt the necessity of turning to the best account the revenues to which they were already entitled; and especially the tithes. Tithe had originally been levied from land only, but the obligation of paying it was now extended to all sorts of income.[z] "Perhaps," says the council of Trosley, "some one may say, 'I am no husbandman; I have nothing on which to pay tithe of the fruits of the earth or even of flocks.' Let such an one hearken, whosoever he be—whether a soldier, a merchant, or an artisan:—The ability by which thou art fed is God's, and therefore thou oughtest to pay tithes to Him."[a] Many canons are directed to the enforcement of tithes on land newly brought into cultivation;[b] and many are directed against claims of exemption. Such claims were sometimes advanced by persons who held lands under ecclesiastical owners, and pretended that it was an oppression to require a second rent of them under another name.[c] The council of Ingelheim, held in 948, in the presence of Otho I., enacted that all questions as to tithes should be subject to the decision of the bishops alone; and a great council at Augsburg, four years later, confirmed the rule.

A.D. 1056, give an account of a warlike bishop of Hereford, Leofgar, who was slain in battle by the Welsh, with some of his clergy. Abbots also fought against the Northmen, and some of these monastic warriors were encouraged by the apparition of St. Benedict—as Hugh of Fleury, A.D. 878 (Aimoin. de Miraculis S. Ben. i. 1; Patrol. cxxxix.), and the monks of Monte Cassino (Chron. Casin. ii. 71). Against clergy going to war, see Fulbert, Ep. 112 (Patrol. cxli.).

[y] Planck, iii. 620-3. Gerhoch contrasts the earlier emperors, from Constantine to Lewis the Pious, with "the Othos, Henries, and such like"—"The former enriched churches, the latter plundered them." De Ædif. Dei, 9 (Patrol. cxciv.).

[z] There is a curious enumeration of the various kinds of titheable property by a synod at Exeter in 1287. Wilkins, ii. 159.

[a] C. 7. Hard. vi. 521 (A.D. 909).

[b] Planck, iii. 629. [c] Ib. 627-8.

The amount thus added to the revenues of the clergy must, after all possible deductions for difficulties of collection, for waste, and for other allowances, have been very large; but the individual members of the body were not proportionately enriched. The number of the clergy was greatly increased; and, although the principle had been established that "benefice is given on account of office or duty,"[e] it was considered to be satisfied by imposing on the superfluous clerks the duty of reading the church-service daily, so that they became entitled to a maintenance.[f] The bishops, as their state became greater, found themselves obliged to keep a host of expensive retainers. Knights or persons of higher rank who were attached to the households of the great prelates —often by way of disarming their hostility[g]—were very highly paid for their services; the free men whom the bishops contributed towards the national force, or whom they hired to fight their feuds, were costly, and, as the prelates found themselves considered at the national musters in proportion to the number of their followers, they often, for the sake of supporting their dignity, led more than the required number with them.[h] According to the system of the age, all these adherents were paid by fiefs, which were either provided out of the estates of the church or by assigning them the tithes of certain lands. Such fiefs in general became hereditary, and thus the episcopal revenues were consumed by the expense of establishments which it was impossible to get rid of.[i]

The vidames or advocates in particular pressed heavily on the church. The wealth and privileges of the clergy

[d] Conc. Ingilh. c. 9; Conc. August. A.D. 952, c. 10; Planck, iii. 635.

[e] "Beneficium datur propter officium."

[f] Planck, iii. 639, 652.

[g] Gerhoh. de Ædif. Dei, 6; Schmidt, ii. 496.

[h] Ib. 192; Planck, iii. 656-60.

[i] Ib.; Giesel. II. i. 248.

continually excited the envy and cupidity of their lay neighbours, who were apt to pick quarrels with them in order that there might be a pretext for seizing their property. Every council has its complaints of such aggressions, and its anathemas against the aggressors. But the denunciation of councils, or even of popes, were of little or no avail; force alone could make any impression on the rough and lawless enemies of the clergy. The vidames, therefore, if they discharged their office faithfully, had no easy task in defending the property of the churches or monasteries with which they were connected. But not only was the price of their assistance often greater than the damage which they averted; they are charged with neglecting their duty, with becoming oppressors instead of defenders, with treating the property of the church as if it were their own.[k] The oppression of the advocates was especially felt by monastic bodies, which often found it expedient to pay largely to the sovereign for the privilege of being able to discharge these officers. The advocateship became hereditary; in some monasteries it was reserved by the founder to himself and his heirs, who thus, by the power of preying not only on the original endowment, but on such property as the community afterwards acquired, were in no small degree indemnified for the expense of the foundation. In some cases, the advocates appointed deputies, and thus the unfortunate clients had two tyrants under the name of defenders.[l] Vast, therefore, as the revenues of the church appear, much of its wealth was merely nominal. A large part passed from the clergy to lay officials, and the rest was exposed to continual danger in such rude and unsettled times.[m]

[k] Abbo Floriac. can. 2 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Planck, iii. 606-12.

[l] Ducange, s. v. *Advocatus*, p. 109; Schmidt, ii. 189-90; Planck, iii. 661-2 Gregorov. iii. 488.

[m] Planck, iii. 613.

The condition of the Greek clergy is described by Liutprand as inferior to that of their Latin brethren. Their manner of life struck him as sordid; and, although some of the bishops were rich and others were poor, they were all alike inhospitable. The bishops were obliged to pay tribute to the emperor; the bishop of Leucate swore that his own tribute amounted to a hundred pieces of gold yearly; and Liutprand cries out that this was a manifest injustice, inasmuch as Joseph, when he taxed all the rest of Egypt, exempted the land which belonged to the priests.[n]

(4.) An important change took place in the canonical bodies, which, as we have seen, had originated towards the end of the preceding period. Although the canonical life was attractive as offering almost all the advantages of monasticism with an exemption from some of its drawbacks, the restraints and punctilious observances of Chrodegang's rule were felt as hardships by many who had been accustomed to the enjoyment of independence. The canons had taken a high position. From living with the bishop they were brought into a close connexion with him: their privileged body acquired something like that power which in the earliest ages had belonged to the general council of presbyters; and they claimed a share in the government of the diocese.[o] The bishop, however, had at his disposal the whole revenues of the church, and although he might be obliged to set aside a certain portion for the maintenance of the canons, he had yet in his hands considerable means of annoying them. He could stint them in their allowances, he could increase their fasts, he could be niggardly in providing for occasions of festivity. Complaints of bishops against canons and of canons against bishops became frequent.[p]

[n] Legatio, 63.

[o] Schröckh, xxii. 498; Planck, iii. 642, 751-5.

[p] Planck, iii. 756-7.

The first object of the canons was to get rid of the bishop's control over their property. The composition made between Gunther of Cologne and his chapter, at a time when he had especial reason to court them, is the earliest instance of its kind. By this the canons got into their own hands the management of their estates, and were even enabled to bequeath their houses or other effects to their brethren without any reference to the archbishop.[q] The instrument was confirmed by a great council held at Cologne in 873 under archbishop Willibert, whose reasons for consenting to it are unknown; and the new arrangement was soon imitated elsewhere.[r]

After having gained this step, the canons in various places, and more or less rapidly, advanced further. They abandoned the custom of living together, and of eating at a common table; each had a separate residence of his own within the precincts of the cathedral. They divided the estates of the society among themselves, but in such a way that the more important members secured an unfair proportion; while many of them also possessed private property.[s] The canons purchased special privileges from kings and emperors, from bishops and from popes. The vacancies in each chapter were filled up by the choice of the members, and nobility of birth came to be regarded as a necessary qualification. Marriage and concubinage were usual among this class of clergy; and their ordinary

[q] Hard. vi. 139. See vol. iii. p. 376.

[r] Hard. vi. 137-42; Planck, iii. 642-8; Gfrörer, Karol. i. 368; ii. 92-3. Bp. Hefele (iv. 492) supposes this arrangement to relate, not to the cathedral, but to collegiate churches which had until then depended on it. The text, however, seems corrupt, and as incapable of yielding the one sense as the other without some alteration; while the usual interpretation appears the more probable.

[s] Ratherii Judicatum (Patr. cxxxvi.); Gerhoh. in Ps. lxiv. 35, 125 (ib. cxciv.); Schröckh, xxii. 499; Planck, iii. 764. Peter Damiani wrote two tracts against the abuses in the canonical life—Opusc. xxiv. 'Contra clericos regulares proprietarios'; Opusc. xxvii. 'De Communi vita canonicorum.'

style of living may be inferred from the statement of Ratherius, bishop of Verona, that the simplicity of his habits led his canons to suppose him a man of low origin, and on that account to despise him.[t] At length the duties of the choir—the only duties which the canons had continued to acknowledge—were devolved on "prebendaries" engaged for the purpose, and the canons, both of cathedral and of collegiate churches, lived in the enjoyment of their incomes, undisturbed even by the obligation of sharing in the divine offices.[u]

Thus by degrees the system which Chrodegang had instituted became extinct. The revivals of it which were attempted by Adalbero of Reims,[x] by Willigis of Mentz, and other prelates, were never of long continuance;[y] and in a later time that which had been a violation of the proper canonical discipline became the rule for the foundation of cathedral chapters on a new footing.[z]

(5.) The dissolute morals of the clergy are the subject of unceasing complaint. The evils which arose out of the condition of domestic chaplains increased, notwithstanding all the efforts of bishops and of councils to introduce a reform. The employers of these chaplains engaged them without any inquiry as to their morals, their learning, or even their ordination; they claimed for them the same exemption from episcopal jurisdiction which was allowed to the clergy of the royal chapel, and every employer considered it a point of honour to support his chaplain in any violation of ecclesiastical laws or in any defiance of bishops.[a]

[t] Rather. Qualitatis Conjectura, 2.

[u] Schmidt, ii. 493; Planck, iii. 763.

[x] Richer, iii. 24.

[y] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. p. viii.; Pagi, xvi. 33; Planck, iii. 765. Yet the Saxon annalist says that the canons of Hildesheim, down to the eleventh century, lived with the strictness of monks; they had daily to exhibit some tasks to the dean "ut timidius in claustro quam in scholis manum ferulæ subducere viderentur." Pertz, vi. 686.

[z] Planck, iii. 766.

[a] Ib. 565-8, 575. See in Thietmar

The mischiefs connected with this class of clergy were in great measure chargeable on the practice of the bishops themselves in conferring orders without assigning a particular sphere of labour to the receiver. The origin of such ordinations has been already traced;[b] but now even the higher orders of the ministry were thus bestowed, for the sake of the fees which had become customary.[c] Canons were passed that no one should be allowed to officiate in a church without the bishop's licence, and without producing a certificate of his ordination; while other canons forbade the appointment of chaplains without the bishop's consent.[d] The council of Ravenna under John VIII., in 877, enacted that every presbyter should at ordination be appointed to some particular church;[e] but the custom of ordaining without such a title was already too firmly established.

Among the many abuses which arose out of the sale of spiritual preferments was the practice of patrons who insisted on presenting their nominees without allowing the bishop to inquire into their qualifications, or even into the validity of their ordination.[f] In opposition to this the council of Seligenstadt, in 1022, ordered that no layman should present a clerk without submitting him for examination to the bishop.[g]

(6.) But the chief subject of complaint and of ecclesiastical legislation is the neglect of celibacy and chastity by the clergy. The older canons, which forbade clergymen

vi. 59, the account of the outrage offered by some retainers of Gero, marquis of Magdeburg, to Arnulf, bishop of Halberstadt, for remonstrating with one of their master's chaplains as to the uncanonical amusement of falconry (A.D. 1013). In that case, indeed, both the marquis (although he was not, as Planck says, personally concerned) and his men were severely punished by Henry II.; but it was probably not often that any such interposition of the sovereign took place.

[b] Vol. iii. p. 194.

[c] Planck, iii. 570-2; IV. ii. 313-14.

[d] Ib. iii. 573-8.

[e] C. 14.

[f] Planck, iii. 779.

[g] C. 13.

to entertain in their houses any women except their nearest relations, were found, instead of acting as an effective restraint, to tempt them to more frightful kinds of sin; and even the company of mothers, aunts, and sisters was now prohibited.[h] Riculf, bishop of Soissons, ordains in 889 that, lest the sins of Absalom and of Lot should be repeated, not even the nearest kinswomen of the clergy should dwell with them; if a clergyman should invite his mother, his sister, or his aunt to dinner, the women must return before nightfall to their own home or lodging, which must be at a distance from the parsonage.[i] As experience seemed to point out more and more the expediency of relaxing the law of celibacy, councils became stricter in their requirements. Subdeacons were required at ordination to promise that they would never marry, or, if already married, they were required to renounce their wives;[k] a council at Augsburg in 952 enacted that all manner of clerks of mature age should be compelled to observe continency, "even although unwilling."[l]

The clergy, however, when forbidden to marry, indemnified themselves by living in concubinage — sometimes, as appears from a canon passed at Poitiers in 1000, resorting to strange expedients for the purpose of concealing their female companions;[m] and they married in contempt of the prohibitions. Atto describes clergymen as openly living with *meretriculæ*—a term which he would probably have applied to wives no less than to unmarried companions — as making them the heads of their establishments, and bequeathing to them the money which

[h] Conc. Namnet. c. 3, ap. Hard. vi. 457. [Perhaps this ought to have been cited in the preceding book; as the canons, while dated by some about 895, are referred by others to a council held at Nantes in 658. Hefele, iii. 97.] Cf. Giesel. II. i. 321.

[i] Constit. Riculfi, c. 14 (Hard. vi. 417).

[k] Conc. Bituric. A.D. 1031, c. 6.

[l] C. 11 (Pertz, Leges, ii.).

[m] "Nullus presbyter neque diaconus fœminam in sua domo teneat, *neque in cellario, neque in secreto loco.*" C. 6.

had been gained from the holy oblations; thus diverting to harlots that which of right belonged to the poor. In consequence of these scandals, he says, many persons, to their own spiritual hurt, withheld their oblations; and the clergy, when called to account for their misconduct by bishops, had recourse to secular protectors, whose alliance enabled them to defy their ecclesiastical superiors.[n] From the bishops downwards, it was common both in Germany and in Italy for the clergy to have wives, and that without any disguise;[o] and the same was the case in Normandy, as well as in the independent church of Brittany.[p] In order to judge fairly of such persons, we must not regard them from the position of either the modern opponents or advocates of clerical celibacy. Living and holding office as they did under a law which forbade marriage, we cannot respect them for their violation of that law. Yet if they believed the prohibition to be merely a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, and not enforced by the Divine word, — if they saw that the inexpediency of such discipline was abundantly proved by experience,—and if they found that those who were charged with the maintenance of the canons were willing to tolerate a breach of them in this respect, provided that it were managed without any offence to public decency, we may suppose that the clergy in question were reasonably justified to their own consciences. We may hold them excusable, if we cannot join with those who would admire them as heroic or enlightened.

[n] Ep. 9 (Patrol. cxxxiv.). He earnestly warns against all society with women: "Difficile evadere potestis, nisi ab earum consortio declinetis. Quem enim compti crines, venusta facies, nictatio palpebrarum, elisio oculorum, affabilitas sermonum, garrula modulatio, risus facilis, blanda suasio, præclara monilia, schemata vestium, olfactio unguentorum, mollis incessus, ac totius corporis luxus non resolveret in flagitium?" Col. 118.

[o] Theiner, i. 479; Giesel. II. i. 322-3; Gfrörer, iv. 155-6.

[p] Vita Herluini, Patrol. cl. 699. St. Anselm writes to Urban II. that a bishop of Beauvais is persecuted for keeping the sons or chosen heirs of his canons from succeeding to their benefices. Ep. ii. 33, p. 354.

The acts of Dunstan in England have been already related, and we have seen that his reformation, which for the time appeared to be triumphant, was not of any long continuance—at least in its full extent. Reformers in other quarters failed to obtain even a temporary success. Among the most remarkable of these was Ratherius, a native of Liége, who acquired great fame for learning, eloquence, and strictness of life, and in 931 was advanced to the see of Verona by Hugh the Great of Provence, in fulfilment of a promise which Hugh was disposed to evade, but which was enforced by the authority of the pope.[q] Ratherius represents the Italian clergy in the darkest colours:[r] they were, he says, so grossly ignorant that many of them did not know the Apostles' creed,[s] while some were anthropomorphites;[t] and their obstinate unwillingness to chant the Athanasian creed suggested suspicions of Arianism.[u] They were stained by all manner of vices:[x] the bishops were altogether secular in their manners, and even in their dress — hunting, hawking, gaming, delighting in the company of jesters, minstrels, and dancing-girls.[y] They were luxurious in their food and drink; they were utterly careless of their duties, and set the church's laws at nought;[z] instead of dividing their revenues according to the canons, they appropriated all to themselves, so that the poor were robbed, and churches, which had suffered from the negligence of bishops or from the violence of pagans, lay in ruins;[a] they despised all who showed the fear of God;

[q] Hugh consented, in the belief that Ratherius was dying, and was angry at his recovery. Rather. Ep. v. 4 (Patrol. cxxxvi.); Vogel, 'Ratherius von Verona und das zehnte Jahrhundert,' Jena, 1854, i. 52.

[r] De Contemptu Canonum, i. 4; ii. 1-4; Discordia, 1.

[s] Itinerarium, 6.

[t] Serm. ii. 29.

[u] Itiner. 7.

[x] Ib. 5; Vogel, i. 242, 292; Theiner, i. 509, seqq., 521.

[y] Præloq. v. 6-7, 11, 18-19.

[z] Ib. 12; De Cont. Can. i. 6.

[a] Præloq. v. 7, Synodica; Lib. Apologet, 5.

they took pride in splendid furniture and equipages, without any thought of Him who was laid in a manger and rode on an ass.[b] Unhappily Ratherius was altogether wanting in the prudence which would have been requisite for dealing with such persons; his intemperate zeal, his personal assumption, his passionate impatience of opposition, his abusive language and unmeasured severity in reproof, alienated the clergy, laity, and monks, with whom he had at first been popular, while his independent spirit and his determination to maintain the rights of his see provoked the licentious and cruel king.[c] Hugh, on a charge of treason, A.D. 934. imprisoned him at Pavia for two years and a half,[d] while the bishoprick was given to Manasses, archbishop of Arles, who also held the sees of Trent and Mantua, and had the effrontery to justify his pluralities by alleging that St. Peter had been bishop of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Aquileia.[e] In 939, Hugh for reasons of policy restored Ratherius; but the bishop was again obliged to leave his see,[f] and his impracticable character provoked his expulsion or compelled his withdrawal from other preferments which he successively obtained—from Liége, to which he had been promoted by the influence of Bruno of Cologne;[g] a third time from Verona, which he had recovered through the patronage of Otho the Great by the ejection of a more popular bishop[h] (A.D. 963); from the abbey of St. Amand, which he is said to have purchased of king Lothair; from the abbey of

[b] Præloq. v. 9-10.

[c] Vogel, i. 54. See the 'Qualitatis Conjectura,' 2, seqq.

[d] Epp. v. 4-5; Hist. Litt. vi. 341.

[e] Liutprand, Antap. iv. 6. He had also a design of annexing Milan to his preferments (Ib. v. 26); but in this it does not appear that he succeeded. Ughelli does not mention him as archbishop of Milan (v. 93), but says that for a time he governed or administered the see of Vicenza (v. 1032).

[f] Vogel, i. 124-9.

[g] Phrenesis, 1; Folcuin, Gesta Abbat. Lobb. 23 (Patrol. cxxxvii.); Vogel, i. 180-4, 192-4.

[h] Ep. v. 8; Privileg. Ottonis (Patrol. cxxxv. 539); Folcuin, 24; Vogel, i. 255, 302, 306, 411-20.

Haumont, and from that of Lobach or Lobbes, on the Sambre, the place of his education, which he had held with the bishoprick of Liége, and of which in his latter days he again became the head through the expulsion of his predecessor Folcuin.[i] Ratherius died at Namur in 974, at the age of 82.[k] He was throughout a vehement opponent of marriage among the clergy, yet he seems at last to have been convinced that the attempt was hopeless, and to have contented himself with endeavouring to preserve the hierarchy from becoming hereditary, by desiring that the married priests should choose laymen as husbands for their daughters, and should not allow their sons to become clerks.[l]

It was not on religious grounds only that the celibacy of the clergy was enforced; for the possessions of the church were endangered by the opposite practice. The married clergy often contrived to make their livings hereditary; or they alienated ecclesiastical property to their children, whom, in order to render such alienations secure, they placed under vassalage to some powerful layman.[m] Clergymen of servile birth were careful to choose women of free condition for wives and concubines, so as to ensure for their offspring the privileges of

[i] Vogel, i. 182, 426-7, 430-1; Hist. Litt. vi. 452; Schröckh, xxii. 513-22. It is Folcuin who gives the story as to the purchase of St. Amand. (C. 28; cf. Rather. Prælocq. v. 33; Ballerini, Præf. in Prælocq. l. v.) Mabillon thinks it a calumny, imposed on the abbot by some one who wished to flatter his dislike of Ratherius (Acta SS. Ben. vii. 479); but Vogel maintains its truth, while he contends that the transaction was not inconsistent with the abhorrence of simony which Ratherius professed (i. 427-8). After one of his expulsions from Verona, the bishop became tutor to a young nobleman, for whose benefit he wrote a grammar with the title of 'Sparadorsum' (Spare back),—so called because the pupil by learning it might escape chastisement. Folc. 20; Vogel, i. 101.

[k] Ib. 434.

[l] De Nuptu Illicito, 4; Vogel, i. 347. "Si multinubos a clericatu repellerem," he asks, "quem nisi puerulos in ecclesia relinquerem? Si mamzeres abjicerem, quem ex eisdem puerulis stare in choro permitterem?" Itinerar. 5.

[m] Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853 e); Planck, iii. 600; Theiner, i. 458-9; Giesel. II. i. 326.

freemen by virtu of the legal principle that the child must follow the condition of the mother. Benedict VIII., at a council held at Pavia in 1022, inveighed with great severity against those who by such means impoverished the church.[n] "Let the sons of clergy be null," he says; "and especially the sons of such clerks as belong to the family" (*i.e.* to the serfs[o]) "of the church. Yea, let them—let them, I say—I say they shall—be null." They shall neither follow their mother in freedom nor their father in inheritance; they shall be serfs of the church for ever, whether born of wives or of concubines; they may in mercy be allowed to serve as Nethinims—hewers of wood and drawers of water—but must not aspire to any higher ministry. Their mothers shall be driven out, and shall be compelled to leave behind them all that they have gotten from the church. The pope's address to the council is followed by canons which enact that no member of the clergy shall have a wife or a concubine; that the children of clerks shall be condemned to hopeless servitude; and that no judge shall, under pain of anathema, promise them freedom or the power of inheriting. These canons were confirmed by the authority of the emperor Henry II., and were enforced by civil penalties.[p]

Some canons forbade, not only that any one should give his daughter in marriage to a clerk, but that any lay person should intermarry with the child of a clerk;[q] and there were canons which forbade the ordination of the sons of clergymen, as being an "accursed seed."[r] In this respect, however, the humaner principle that the innocent should not suffer for the sins of their parents appears to have more generally prevailed.[s]

[n] Hard. vi. 805, seqq.
[o] Ducange, s. v. *Familia.*
[p] Hard. vi. 809-13; Pertz, Legcs, ii. 562-3.
[q] Conc. Bitur. A.D. 1031, cc. 19-20.
[r] Ib. c. 8.
[s] Neand. vi. 92. See Alexand. II. Ep. 133 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Gesta Epp.

Dearly as the benefit was bought, we must not overlook one great good which resulted from the enforcement of celibacy—that to this is chiefly to be ascribed the preservation of the clergy during the middle ages from becoming, like other classes whose dignity had at first been personal and official, a hereditary caste.[t]

II. *Monasticism.*

(1.) During the earlier part of this period, the monastic life was on the decline. Some of the abuses which had arisen among the Greeks may be gathered from the canons of the synod which was held at Constantinople in 861, and which is known as the "First and Second."[u] It is there stated that many persons professed to consecrate their substance by founding monasteries, yet contrived to

Cenoman. c. 33, ap. Mabill. Analecta, 307; Gratian, Decr. I. dist. 56; Theiner, ii. 327. There is a letter from Theobald of Etampes to Roscellin (as to whom see hereafter, c. viii.) remonstrating against his opinion that the sons of clerks ought to be *exleges*, and excluded from ordination. Patrol. clxiii. 767.

[t] Luden, viii. 566-7; Palgrave, Hist. Anglo-Sax. 242; Ozanam, 90. There has been much controversy as to a letter in bold defence of clerical marriage, which is said to have been addressed by Ulric bishop of Augsburg to Nicolas I. (Patrol. cxliii. 1361-6). The absurd story which it contains, that Gregory the Great found in his fishpond *six thousand* heads of priests' children, is given up by all reasonable persons as a fable, although similar tales on a less extravagant scale are found elsewhere—as in Hugh of Flavigny, who states the discovery of *nine* heads in a pond near a nunnery at Verdun (ii. 29). As the famous St. Ulric of Augsburg lived long after Nicolas I., the defenders of the letter are reduced to suppose that it was either written by an earlier Ulric or addressed to a later Nicolas. Gieseler thinks that Nicolas II. is meant, and that the letter is a forgery of the time of Hildebrand, executed in the interest of the opposite party (II. i. 329). Floto (ii. 39) and Giesebrecht (iii. 1048) agree in this view, and suppose it to have been written about 1074 or 1076. Comp. Gerhoch, in Patrol. cxciv. 1387; Bayle, art. *Gregoire I.*, n. Q.; Eccard, Præf. in Cod. Udalrici (Corp. Histor. t. ii.); Zaccaria, 'Storia polemica del Celibato Sacro,' Rom. 1774, Pref. xvi., seqq. (where the letter is supposed to have been forged in England, p. xxiii. !) Schröckh, xxii. 550-5; Theiner, i. 467-70; and the admirable exposure of the story by Dr. Maitland in his Letters on Fox's Acts and Monuments, Brit. Mag. xiii. 254. The letter was condemned by Gregory VII. in his synod of 1079. Bernold, ap. Pertz, v. 436.

[u] See vol. iii. p. 425.

make such foundations a source of profit; and that some assumed the monastic habit with the view of gaining a reputation for piety, but lived with the freedom of laymen. In order to guard against these evils, it is enacted that no monastery shall be built without leave of the bishop in whose diocese it is situated, and that no one shall be admitted to the monastic profession until after a noviciate of three years. Another canon orders that bishops shall not dilapidate the property of their sees for the purpose of founding monasteries.[x]

In the west, the reform undertaken by Lewis the Pious soon passed away. The practice of impropriating the revenues of abbeys (an abuse which was also largely practised in the eastern church)[y] increased. Abbacies were granted by French kings to laymen as hereditary possessions; some of them were even assigned to queens or other ladies.[z] Kings took the revenues of abbeys into their own hands, and bishops were not slow to imitate the example; thus Hatto of Mentz, who died in 912, annexed to his archiepiscopal dignity the headship of twelve monasteries,[a] and some abbacies became fixedly attached to certain sees.[b] The want of due superintendence which arose from this practice combined with other causes to produce a great decay of monastic discipline. Such was this decay in France that the monks are said to have been generally unacquainted with the rule of St. Benedict, and even ignorant whether they were bound by any rule whatever.[c] In many monasteries the abbots openly lived with wives or concubines.[d]

[x] Cc. 1, 2, 5, 7.

[y] Ducange, s. v. *Abbas*, pp. 11-12.

[z] Giesel. II. i. 294. See p. 13.

[a] Ekkehard. de Casibus S. Galli, in Pertz, ii. 83.

[b] Thomassin, II. iii. 3. 37; Planck, iii. 725. An instance of the bad effects of such annexation in the case of St. Emmeran's at Ratisbon may be found in the Life of St. Wolfgang, who reformed the abuse. C. 15. Pertz, iv. 522.

[c] Schröckh, xxiii. 25; Planck, iii. 696.

[d] Theiner, i. 526-7; Giesel. II. i. 296.

The council of Trosley, in 909, laments the general corruption. Some monasteries, it is said, have been burnt or destroyed by pagans, some have been plundered of their property, and those of which the traces remain observe no form of a regular institute. They have no proper heads; the manner of life is disorderly; some monks desert their profession and employ themselves in worldly business; as the fine gold becomes dim without the workman's care, so the monastic institution goes to ruin for want of regular abbots. Lay abbots with their wives and children, with their soldiers and their dogs, occupy the cloisters of monks, of canons, and of nuns; they take it on themselves to give directions as to a mode of life with which they are altogether unacquainted, and the inmates of monasteries cast off all regard for rule as to dress and diet. It is the predicted sign, the abomination of desolation standing in the place where it ought not.[e] About the same time we are told that John, afterwards abbot of Gorze, on resolving to become a monk, could not find any monastery north of the Alps, and hardly any one in Italy, where the regular discipline was observed.[f]

(2.) Soon after this a reformation was set on foot in various quarters. The lead in the new movement was taken by Berno, abbot of Beaume, and founder and abbot of Gigni.[g] He had already established a reform in these two societies, when in 912[h] he was invited to Cluny by William, duke of Auvergne or Upper Aquitaine, who desired him to choose a spot within the dukedom for the foundation of a monastery;[i] and Berno made choice of

[e] Cap. 3. Hard. vi. 510-13.

[f] Vita, 20 (Patrol. cxxxvii.). For a curious story of monastic disorders, see the 'Destructio Monasterii Farfensis,' by Abbot Hugh, in Murat. Antiq. Ital. vi. 275, seqq.

[g] Baron. 913-18; Mabill. Act Ben. vii. 70; Bolland. Acta SS. Jan. 13. Berno was probably a count, but this is not certain. Mab. 66.

[h] Pagi, xv. 575.

[i] Vita Bernon. ap. Mabill., Acta SS. Ben. vii. 76.

Cluny itself. A society of canons had been founded there in the preceding century,[k] but the buildings were then occupied by the duke's hunting establishment. In his "testament," or charter, William declares that he gives the estate for the foundation of a monastery in honour of St. Peter and St. Paul; first, for the love of God, then for the souls of the late king Odo, of his own wife, kindred, and friends, for the good of the catholic faith, and of all orthodox Christians in times past, present, or to come. Berno is to be the first abbot, and after his death the monks are to enjoy the uncontrolled election of their superior. They are to be exempt from all interference of the founder and his family, of the king's majesty, and of every other earthly power. The duke solemnly charges all popes, bishops, and secular princes to respect their property; he prays the two apostles and the pope to take the monastery under their special protection, and imprecates curses on any one who shall invade it.[l]

Berno, like St. Benedict and other monastic founders,[m] began with a company of twelve monks.[n] The institutions of Cluny excited emulation, and other monasteries were committed to the abbot for reform. In 927, Berno was succeeded by his disciple Odo, whose fame so much eclipsed that of his master that even some members of the Cluniac order have spoken of Odo as their founder.[o] To the rule of St. Benedict Odo added many minute observances.[p] Thus the monks were required at the end of meals to gather up and consume all the crumbs of their

[k] See Mabill. ib. 74-5.

[l] Hard. vi. 547, seqq. See the confirmation by pope Agapetus, ibid. 601; also Alex. II. Ep. 43, ad Hugon. Abbat. Clun., ib. vi. 1109. For the early history of Cluny, see Maitland's 'Dark Ages,' c. 18.

[m] See vol. ii. pp. 347, 402.

"For thretten is a covent as I gesse."
Chaucer, *The Sompnour's Tale.*

[n] Radulph. Glab. iii. 5.

[o] See Baron. 912-17; Pagi, xv. 576 Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 127.

[p] See, *e.g.*, the rules as to shaving. Antiq. Consuetud. Clun. iii. 16 (Patrol. cxxxix.).

bread. There was at first a disposition to evade this regulation; but when a dying monk exclaimed in horror that he saw the devil holding up in accusation against him a bag of crumbs which he had been unwilling to swallow, the brethren were terrified into obedience.[q] Periods of strict silence were enforced; and stories are told of the inconveniences to which the Cluniacs submitted rather than break this rule—as that one allowed his horse to be stolen, and that two suffered themselves to be carried off as prisoners by the Northmen.[r] For their communications among themselves at such times a code of signals was established, which the novices were obliged to learn.[s] The monks were bled five times a year, and it is doubtful whether Odo permitted the use of any medical treatment except bleeding[t] and the application of cautery. When two of his monks entreated him to allow them some medicine, he consented, but told them in anger that they would never recover; and the result justified his foresight, if not his humanity.[u]

The fame of Cluny spread. Odo, at the request of popes, thrice visited Italy for the purpose of reconciling princes, and he availed himself of these opportunities to introduce his reforms into that country.[x] A.D. 942-65. Under his successor, Aymard, no fewer than 278 charters, either bestowing or confirming gifts, attest the wealth which was attracted to the monastery by the spectacle which it exhibited of revived austerity.[y] A

[q] Vita S. Odonis, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 159.

[r] Mabill. Annal. iii. 457.

[s] Antiq. Consuet. ii. 3-4; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 129; Vita, ib. 167.

[t] Consuet. ii. 21.

[u] Nalgold. ap. Mabill. l. c. 196. In the chapter "De Infirmis" meat is allowed, but there is no mention of medicine (Consuet. iii. 27). St. John Gualbert excommunicated a monk who had died through neglecting to take care of himself after receiving medicine from him. Atto, c. 43, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ix. 285.

[x] Hist. Litt. vi. 232-3. For his reforms at Rome under the patronage of Leo VII. and of the senator Alberic, see Bened. Soract. in Pertz, iii. 71; Gregorov. iii. 337; Reumont, ii. 253.

[y] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii. 316.

series of conspicuous saints maintained and advanced the renown of the Cluniacs. Majolus, or Mayeul, who, in consequence of Aymard's having lost his sight, was appointed his coadjutor in 948,[z] and became sole abbot in 965, had before joining the congregation refused the archbishoprick of Besançon,[a] and on the death of Benedict VI., in 974, he declined the popedom.[b] The fifth abbot, Odilo, was equal to any of his predecessors in reputation and in influence. Popes treated him as an equal; kings and emperors sought his friendship and were guided by his advice; bishops repaired to Cluny, to place themselves as simple monks under his government.[c] His contemporary Fulbert of Chartres styles him "the archangel of the monks";[d] another contemporary, the notorious Adalbero of Laon, in a satirical poem calls him "*King* Odilo of Cluny."[e] He was believed to have the power of miracles, and an extraordinary efficacy was ascribed to his prayers. Benedict VIII., it is said, appeared to John bishop of Porto, telling him that he was suffering torments, but that he could be delivered by the prayers of Odilo. The abbot, on being informed of this, engaged in the charitable work, and after a time the release of the pope was shown in a vision to one of the monks of Cluny.[f] In days when the popes were far from saintly, the people looked away from them to the head of the great monastic society, whose position was such that he refused to exchange it for an archbishoprick, or even for St. Peter's chair.[g]

A.D. 994-1049.

[z] Patrol. cxxxvii. ; Syrus, Vita Majoli, iv. 1-2, ib.

[a] Syrus, i. 12.

[b] Ib. iii. 8.

[c] Sylvest. II. Ep. ii. 12 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Jotsald. Vita Odilon. i. 8, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. viii. 600; Schröckh, xxiii. 37.

[d] Fulb. ap. Bouquet, x. 456.

[e] A monk is represented as saying—

"Rex est namque meus Rex Odilo Cluniacensis.

Adalb. Carm. ad Rodbert. regem, 115. (Bouq. x. 67.)

Comp. the notes, ib. 81-2.

[f] Jotsald, ii. 14; P. Damiani, Vita Odil., Patrol. cxliv. 937.

[g] Schröckh, xxiii. 36. Odilo refused Lyons, and was blamed on that account by John XVIII. (Hard. vi.

The reform begun at Cluny extended far and wide. When a revival of the true monastic asceticism had been displayed in any province, a regard for public opinion and for self-preservation urged the imitation of it on the other communities of the neighbourhood.[h] A general zeal for monachism sprang up; multitudes of men became monks, many offered their children, some even devoted themselves and their posterity as serfs to a monastery, in the hope of a reward in heaven.[i] Princes or bishops often employed the Cluniacs in carrying out a forcible reformation; many monasteries of their own accord conformed to the Cluniac rule, and placed themselves in connexion with the mother society.[k] The nature of this connexion was various; in some cases, the affiliated monastery was in strict subjection, so that it not only looked to Cluny for its abbots and priors, but did not even receive a novice without a reference to the "arch-abbot"; in other cases the lesser monastery enjoyed independence in the administration of its own concerns and in the choice of its superiors, while it acknowledged the great abbot as its chief, and regarded him as invested with a supreme authority and entitled to watch over its discipline.[l] Thus was formed the "Congregation of Cluny," the first example in the west (if we except the peculiar system of St. Columba) of an organization which had been introduced into Egypt by Pachomius in the earliest age of monasticism.[m] The work of establishing this organization

838; Radulph. Glaber, v. 4, and notes in Bouq. x. 61.) Peter Damiani, in his Life of Odilo, states that he was mild in imposing penances, and that, when blamed for this, he used to say —"If I am to be damned, I would rather that it should be for mercy than for harshness or cruelty." Col. 930.

[h] Chron. S. Benig. Divion. (Patrol. clxii. 815, 837); Planck, iii. 702.

[i] Mabill. Annal. iii. 490; Planck, iii. 707-8; Giesel. II. i. 302. See above, vol. iii. p. 264; and Ducange, s. v. *Oblati*.

[k] Syrus, Vita Majoli, ii. 21; Planck, iii. 713-15.

[l] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. xxvii.; Planck, iii. 714-15.

[m] See vol. ii. p. 7; Mabill. VII. xxv.

was accomplished by the sixth abbot, Hugh, who succeeded Odilo at the age of twenty-five in 1049, and governed the society for sixty years.[n] The number of monasteries connected with Cluny, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in England, and in Spain, amounted by the end of the twelfth century to two thousand.[o]

(3.) About a century after the origin of the Cluniac order, another famous society was founded by Romuald, a nobleman descended from the ducal family of Ravenna. Romuald's early life was dissolute, but at the age of twenty he was suddenly reclaimed from it. His father, Sergius, had been engaged in a dispute as to some property with a kinsman. The two met, each at the head of his partisans, and Sergius slew his opponent. Romuald, who had been concerned in the fray, although he had not himself shed blood, was so much shocked by the result, that he entered the monastery of St. Apollinaris with the intention of doing penance for forty days, and while there he was determined, by visions in which the patron saint of the house appeared to him, to embrace the monastic life.[p] After having spent three years in the monastery, he placed himself under the tuition of a hermit named Marinus, who was in the habit of daily reciting the whole psalter, saying thirty psalms under one tree and forty under another. Romuald was required to respond in these exercises, and whenever he failed (as often happened from his slowness in reading), he received a blow from the hermit's staff. By the frequent repetition of this, he lost the hearing of his left ear, whereupon he humbly begged that the chas-

[n] Mabill. VII. xxii.-xxvii.; Hist. Litt. ix. 466. There is a Life of Hugh in Hildebert's works, pp. 909-44, ed. Beaugendre, Paris, 1706; also in Patrol. clix., and Acta SS. Apr. 29.

[o] Schröckh, xxiii. 40; Planck, iii. 711-12. The Cluniac houses in England were all under the government of Frenchmen, while the abbot of Cluny drew £2000 yearly from them. Monast. Angl. V. iii.-iv.

[p] Pet. Damiani, Vita S. Romualdi, cc. 3-5. (Opera, ii. 188, seqq.) There is a later Life, by a Camaldolite named Jerome, in the Acta Sanctorum, Feb. 7.

tisement might be transferred to the right ear. Although he used afterwards to relate the story of his training as a matter of amusement,[q] his own piety savoured too much of his eccentric master's zeal. When living on the borders of Spain as a hermit, he heard that his father, who had withdrawn into a monastery, was inclined to return to the world, and he resolved to prevent such a step. The people of the neighbourhood, on learning that he was about to leave them, were unwilling to lose so holy a man, and, by a strange working of superstition, laid a plan for murdering him, in order that they might possess his relics. Romuald escaped by feigning madness, and made his way barefoot to Ravenna, where he assailed his father with reproaches and blows, fastened his feet in stocks, and loaded him with chains until the old man was brought to a better sense of the monastic duty of perseverance.[r] Throughout his life Romuald was involved in a succession of troubles with monks in various places, on whom he attempted to force a reform with too great violence and rigour. Among his own ascetic performances, it is related that he was once silent for seven years.[s] Stirred to emulation by the labours of his friend Bruno or Boniface, who had been martyred by the heathens of Prussia,[t] he undertook a mission to Hungary. On the way he fell ill, and thought of returning, whereupon he suddenly recovered; but as often as he resumed his intention of proceeding, his sickness again attacked him. At length he yielded to what he supposed to be a providential intimation that the work was not for him; but fifteen of his companions went on, and laboured in Hungary with good effect.[u]

Romuald's great work was the foundation of Camaldoli

[q] "Hilariter." P. Dam. 8.
[r] Ib. 19-21.
[s] Ib. 79.
[t] See Giesebr. ii. 108.
[u] P. Dam. 63-4.

among the Apennines in the year 1018.[x] He began by building five cells and an oratory. The inmates were to live as hermits, and were not to associate together except for worship. Their duties as to devotion, silence, and diet, were very rigid; but Romuald, although he often passed days in entire abstinence, would not allow his disciples to attempt a like austerity; they must, he said, eat every day, and always be hungry. A vision of angels ascending Jacob's ladder induced him to prescribe a white dress, whereas that of the Benedictines was black.[y] Romuald died in 1027, at the age of a hundred and twenty.[z] Rudolf who was "general" of the Camaldolese from 1082, mitigated the severity of the rule, and added to the hermits an institution of cœnobites, whose habits gradually became very different from those prescribed in the original foundation. These monks became an order, with monasteries affiliated to Camaldoli; but it did not spread to any great extent, although it has continued to the present day.[a]

(4.) Another monastic reformer was John Gualbert, a Florentine of noble birth, whose conversion, like that of Romuald, arose out of one of the feuds which were characteristic of his age and country. Having been charged by his father to avenge the death of a kinsman, he met the murderer on Good Friday in a narrow pass near the bottom of the hill on which stands the monastery

[x] Schröckh, xxiii. 46. Mabillon says it was not before 1023. Acta SS. Ben. IX. xxxiii.

[y] Hieron. 61. On monastic dress, see Mabill. VII. xxx. seqq.

[z] P. Damiani, 101; Pagi, xvi. 363. It is conjectured that by *Aqua Bella*, in c. 73, Damiani means Camaldoli; but, with the exception of this slight and doubtful mention, the biographer says nothing of Romuald's most remarkable deed. The text published by the Bollandists (Feb. 7, pp. 103, 120) has some words about Camaldoli; but Mabillon supposes them to be interpolated. See his Preface to the Life, and note on the passage (viii. 247, 268). The later life (61) says that the name (= *Campus Malduli*) was given at the request of one Maldulus, who bestowed the site on St. Romuald.

[a] Mabill. Ann. iv. 263; Schröckh, xxiii. 48-9.

of St. Miniato, and was about to execute his vengeance; but when the guilty man threw himself from his horse and placed his arms in the form of a cross, as if expecting certain death, Gualbert was moved to spare him in reverence for the holy sign and for the solemn day.[b] He then ascended the hill in order to pay his devotions in the monastic church, and, while engaged in prayer, he saw a crucifix incline its head towards him, as if in acknowledgment of the mercy which he had shown. By this miraculous appearance Gualbert was moved to become a monk;[c] but his father, on hearing of his design, rushed to St. Miniato, assailed him with reproaches, and threatened to do mischief to the monastery. Gualbert, however, persevered in his resolution, and distinguished himself so much by his asceticism that ten years later his brethren wished to elect him abbot.[d] But he declined the dignity, and soon after left the monastery—in disgust at the election of a simoniacal abbot, according to some authorities,[e] while others suppose that he withdrew out of a desire to avoid the distraction occasioned by crowds of visitors.[f] After a sojourn at Camaldoli (where he gained instruction from Romuald's institutions although the founder was already dead),[g] Gualbert fixed himself at Vallombrosa, and there founded a society of hermits in 1039.[h] To these a body of cœno-

A.D. 1028.

[b] Atto (general of Vallombrosa, who died in 1153), Vita Gualb. c. 2 (Mabill. ix.); Andreas, Vita Gualb. 2-4 (Patrol. cxlvi.).

[c] Atto, 3. Similar stories are told, with great varieties of circumstances as by Peter Damiani (Opusc. xl. c. 5); Roger of Wendover (iv. 236, ed. Coxe); Cæsarius of Heisterbach (Dialog. viii. 21); Thomas of Cantimpré (Bonum Universale, II. xviii. 3; and in Acta SS., Mai. 28, p. 848). The place where Gualbert met his enemy is marked by a picture of the scene, with an inscription in Latin verse. The miraculous crucifix is now in the church of the Holy Trinity at Florence, to which it was removed in 1671. See the Acta SS. Jul. 12, pp. 299-300, 429.

[d] Atto, 5-9.

[e] Andr. 9; Atto, 9-11; Acta SS. pp. 303-5.

[f] Mabill. Annal. iii. 299.

[g] See the Acta SS. l. c. p. 319; Andr. 12; Atto, 13.

[h] Ib. 12; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IX. 274.

bites were afterwards added, and the organization of the order was completed by the institution of lay-brethren, whose business it was to practise handicrafts and to manage the secular affairs of the community, while by their labours the monks were enabled to devote themselves wholly to spiritual concerns.[i] The rigour of the system was extreme; novices were obliged to undergo a year of severe probation, during which they were subjected to degrading employments, such as the keeping of swine, and daily cleaning out the pigsty with their bare hands;[k] and Gualbert carried his hatred of luxury so far as to condemn the splendour of monastic buildings.[l] His anger against offences is said to have been so violent that delinquents "supposed heaven and earth, and even God Himself, to be angry with them"; but to the penitent he displayed the tenderness of a mother.[m] For himself he declined ordination, even to the degree of ostiary.[n] He deviated from the Benedictine rule by attiring his monks in gray, but the colour was afterwards changed to brown, and eventually to black. Gualbert built and reformed many monasteries,[o] and in obedience to pope Alexander II. he reluctantly became head of the order which he had founded. His death took place in 1093.[p]

(5.) In Germany the attempts at monastic reform met with much stubborn resistance. The monks sometimes deserted their house in a body, as when Godehard, afterwards bishop of Hildesheim, attempted to improve Hersfeld, although he at length succeeded in bringing them back.[q] Sometimes they rose in rebellion against

[i] Andr. 26-7; Mabill. IX. xl. Martene carries back the institution of lay-brethren (*Fratres conversi*) in monasteries to the 5th century, when they appear to have existed at Lerins. Coll. Ampl. vi. Præf. 87-97.

[k] Andr. 17; Theiner, ii. 82.

[l] Atto, 40.

[m] Andr. 28.

[n] Ib. 29.

[o] Atto, 23-4, 33.

[p] Ib. 73; Schröckh, xxiii. 52.

[q] Vita, 10-11; Acta SS., Mai. 4.

their reforming abbots, beat them, blinded them, or even attempted their lives.[r] The general feeling of his class is expressed by Widukind of Corbey, who gravely tells us that a "grievous persecution" of the monks arose about the year 945, in consequence of some bishops having said that they would rather have a cloister occupied by a few inmates of holy life than by many careless ones—a saying which the chronicler meets by citing the parable of the tares.[s] Yet even in Germany some improvement was at length effected,—partly through the policy of the saintly emperor Henry II., who vigorously endeavoured to forward measures of reform, and dealt unceremoniously with monastic property.[t]

(6.) In the course of these reforms, the lay impropriations were very generally got rid of. Many of the holders spontaneously resigned their claims; others were constrained by princes to do so, and new grants of like kind were sparingly made.[u] The practice, however, was not extinct, and monasteries, as we have seen, suffered grievously from the exactions of the advocates whose duty it was to protect them.[x] Kings often interfered in their affairs, and the privileges of free election which monastic bodies had received, or even purchased, from bishops, from princes, and from popes, were found in practice to be utterly unavailing against a royal nomination of an abbot.[y]

The change of dynasty in France had a very favourable effect for monasteries. Hugh Capet, before his elevation to the throne, had held the abbacies of St. Denys and St. Germain, and was styled abbot-count.[z] But from a

[r] See instances in Planck, iii. 702-4; Theiner, i. 527; Giesel. II. i. 299.

[s] Widuk. ii. 37 (Pertz, iii. 448).

[t] Giesebr. ii. 84.

[u] Planck, iii. 706; Gfrörer, iv. 189-90.

[x] P. 153; Schröckh, xxiii. 99-101.

[y] Planck, iii. 721-2.

[z] "Abbacomes." See Ducange, s. v.

wish, probably, to secure to himself the interest of the monks, he resigned his abbacies, restored to the monastic communities the power of choosing their superiors, and on his death-bed charged his son Robert to refrain from alienating monastic property, and from interfering with the right of free election.[a]

(7.) The power of bishops over monasteries was diminished during this period. Any impression which the decay of monastic discipline might have made on the popular mind in favour of episcopal superintendence was neutralized by the sight of the disorders which prevailed among the bishops themselves, and by the fact that many of them, by impropriating the revenues of abbacies, contributed largely to the evils in question.[b] And when the monks had been restored to reputation and influence by the reforms of the tenth century, they began to set up claims against the episcopal authority Abbo of Fleury led the way by refusing to make the customary profession of obedience to his diocesan, the bishop of Orleans.[c] A spirit of strong hostility arose between the two classes, and was signally displayed when a council at St. Denys, in 997, proposed to transfer to the parochial clergy the tithes which were held by monastic bodies, as well as those which were in the hands of laymen. The monks of St. Denys rose in tumult, and with the aid of the populace dispersed the assembled prelates; the president of the council, Siguin archbishop of Sens, as he fled, was pelted with filth, was struck between the shoulders with an axe, and almost killed. Abbo, as the leader of the monastic opposition, was charged with having instigated the rioters; and, although he vindicated himself in a letter addressed to king Hugh and his son, it is evident, from

[a] Helgald. Vita Roberti, c. 14 (Bouquet, x. 104); Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. lxvi.; VIII. ii.

[b] Planck, iii. 724-5.

[c] Mabill. l. c. VIII. vii.; Planck, ii. 70-1.

the relish with which his biographer relates the flight of the bishops, that the monastic party were not unwilling to see their opponents discomfited by such means.[d] Abbo went to Rome for the assertion of the monastic privileges, and afterwards, when sent on a mission as to the question of the archbishoprick of Reims, he obtained from Gregory V. a grant that the bishop of Orleans should not visit the monastery of Fleury except by invitation from the abbot.[e]

Monastic communities were naturally disposed to connect themselves immediately with the papal see—since the papacy was the only power to which they could appeal against bishops and princes. Some of them, as that of Cluny, were placed by their founders under the special protection of the pope, and a small acknowledgment was paid to Rome in token of such connexion.[f] Yet the exemption which monasteries thus obtained from the control of their diocesan bishops was not as yet intended to debar the bishop from exercising his ordinary right of moral oversight, but to secure the monks against abuses of the episcopal power—against invasion of their property, interference in the choice of abbots, unfair exactions, or needless and costly visitations.[g] And such papal grants as affected to confer privileges of greater extent were set

[d] See Aimoin. Vit. S. Abbonis, c. 9; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. viii. 39; Hard. vi. 755.

[e] Aimoin. 12. See above, p. 40. Abbo was afterwards murdered in an insurrection at the monastery of La Réole, in Gascony. Aimoin. 20.

[f] Planck, iii. 734-8. Thus Vendome paid twelve *solidi* yearly. Alex. II. Ep. 13. (Patrol. cxlvi.); cf. Godef. Vindoc. Ep. i. 9 (ib. clvii. 49).

[g] Thomassin, I. iii. 37; Planck, iii. 736; Giesel. II. i. 303. Gregory VII. says that such exemptions were granted "propter infestationem præsidentium." Ep. ii. 69 (ad Cunib. Taurin.). The proofs of a monastery being subject to a bishop were—(1) Obedience; (2) *Synodals*, the payment of yearly dues; (3) *Procurations*, the bishop's right of being entertained at the cost of the monks; (4) *Solemn processions*, his right of celebrating mass and of holding meetings within the monastery. The ordination of monks, the benediction of abbots, the giving of chrism, the consecration of churches and altars, were distinct rights, independent of the question of subjection. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IX. xii.

aside. Sylvester II. acknowledged, in a question as to a monastery at Perugia, that a monastic body could not transfer itself to the pope's immediate jurisdiction without the consent of the diocesan.[h] The contest between the abbey of Fleury and its diocesans was not concluded by the grant bestowed on Abbo; for some years later we find John XVII. complaining to king Robert that the archbishop of Sens and the bishop of Orleans treated the apostolical privileges with contempt, and had even ordered Gauzelin, the successor of Abbo, to throw them into the fire; while Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who endeavoured to act as a mediator, declares that it was impossible for the abbot to escape from his duty of canonical obedience.[i] Gregory V. failed in an attempt to exempt Hirschau from the authority of the bishop of Constance; and when a later pope, John XVIII., granted the abbot of Hirschau a licence to say mass in the episcopal habit (for this was one of the forms in which the assumption of abbots displayed itself), the bishop complained to Conrad the Salic. Pressed at once by the emperor and by the bishop, the abbot was obliged to give up to his diocesan the episcopal staff and sandals which he had received from the pope, and these insignia were publicly burnt at the next diocesan synod.[k] In 1025, at the synod of Anse (near Lyons), a complaint was made by the bishop of Mâcon, within whose diocese Cluny was situated, that the archbishop of Vienne had officiated at consecrations and ordinations in the abbey. The abbot, Odilo, produced a privilege from the pope, authorizing the brotherhood to invite any bishop whom they might choose for the performance of such offices, but the council declared that no privilege could

A.D. 1008.

A.D. 1033.

[h] Planck, iii. 741.

[i] Joh. XVII. Ep. 12 (Patrol. cxxxix.); Fulb. Epp. 16-17 (ib. cxli.). Mabillon says that the result is not known (Annal. iv. 290).

[k] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1032; Mabill Acta SS. Ben. VIII. xii.-xiii.

be valid against the ancient canons which invested bishops with jurisdiction over the monasteries within their dioceses.[1] As the question continued to be disputed, Alexander II., in 1063, committed the investigation of it to cardinal Peter Damiani, who (as might have been expected from his monastic character and prejudices) gave a decision in favour of the abbot; and the pope renewed the grant, allowing the Cluniacs to call in any other bishop than their diocesan, and ordering that no bishop should lay them under interdict or excommunication.[m] Although the time was not yet ripe for the full display of monastic independence, the course of things was rapidly tending in that direction.

(8.) The continued popularity of monachism is shown, among other instances, by the means which secular persons took to connect themselves with it. Carrying out the principle of the brotherhoods which from the sixth century had been formed for the purpose of commending their deceased members to the Divine mercy by prayers and masses,[n] it became usual to seek enrolment as *confraters* of a monastery, and by such a connexion the confrater was entitled to expect spiritual benefits from the prayers of the society. In this manner Conrad I. was associated with St. Gall, and Henry II. with Cluny.[o] Another practice, which has been traced by some as high as the seventh century, was that of putting on the monas-

[1] Hard. vi. 840.

[m] Alex. II. Epp. 14-15 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Synodalis Definitio (ib. cxlv. 859); Pet. Dam., 'Iter Gallicum,' cc. 13, 18 (ib.). Among other offences, the bishop of Mâcon, being uncertain as to the extent of his jurisdiction, had stationed himself outside the abbey, and exclaimed, "*If* there be in this monastery any whom I am entitled to excommunicate, *them* I excommunicate!" (ib. 861).

[n] See vol. iii. p. 238; Conc. Attiniac. A.D. 765; Concil. Dingolfing. A.D. 772 (?), cc. 13-14; Mabillon, Analecta, 159-61; Martene, Thes. i. 255-9.

[o] Ducange, s. v. *Fraternitas;* Giesel. II. i. 303. See Giesbr. ii. 199. Henry II. by gifts procured canonries at Paderborn for himself and Cunegunda, expressly stipulating that they should receive clothing and maintenance like the other canons. Ib. 81.

tic habit in dangerous sickness—a new form, apparently, of the obligation to penance which had been more anciently undertaken in such circumstances. If one who had taken the habit, on recovering, returned to secular life, his relapse was disapproved;[p] but it was sometimes found that even the monastic habit, where it was retained, was no security against a return to the sins of the earlier life.[q]

Monasteries or monastic orders were often connected with each other by the bond of mutual intercession and by mutual commemoration of deceased brethren;[r] and the deaths of abbots or of other distinguished members in any monastery were in such cases announced to the other houses of the association by circulars which were conveyed by special messengers.[s]

In the eleventh century, then, monasticism was again in the fulness of its influence. The scandals of its past decay were more than retrieved by the frequent and widely extended reformations which had taken place—each of them displaying in freshness and fervour a zeal and a rigour which for the time captivated the minds of men, and forbade them to admit the thought that that which was now so pure might itself also in time decline.

[p] Pet. Damian. Opusc. xvi. 2 (Patrol. cxlv.); Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VI. xcix.-cii., IX. xliii.; Schröckh. xxiii. 94. Those who thus took the habit were in Spain styled *confessors*. (Ducange, s. v. *Confessor*.) The practice seems to have been offensive to the secular clergy. See Chron. Casin. iv. 72.

[q] Neand. vii. 326.

[r] See Ducange, s. vv. *Brevia Mortuorum, Rotulus, Titulus;* Gieseler, II. ii. 520; and, for instances, Thorn, in Twysden, X. Scriptores, 1904, 1948-9; Mabill Annal. ii. 351, 607. "The Mortuary Roll of Durham," says Sir T. D. Hardy, "was carried about from one monastery to another for the purpose of asking each establishment to assist in praying for delivery from purgatory of the souls of two deceased priors," and 653 religious houses entered into an engagement for mutual intercession with that of Durham. (Pref. to Catalogue of Materials for British History, iii. p. lix.). Messrs. Haddan and Stubbs say that "the first instance of an association or confraternity between distant houses for mutual prayer" is in the letter of Abbot Aldhun and two abbesses, among the collection of St. Boniface's Epistles. (No. 108, Patrol. lxxxix.)

[s] Mabill. Annal iii. 76-7.

III. *Rites and Usages.*

(1.) The ninth century saw the rise of a class of ritualists, who wrote commentaries on the services of the church. The first of them was Amalhart or Amalarius, a chorepiscopus of Metz (already mentioned in the history of the predestinarian controversy),[t] who about 820 composed a treatise 'On the Offices of the Church,' in which he applied to these the system of mystical torture which had long been exercised on Holy Scripture.[u] All the incidents of Divine service, every attitude and gesture, the dresses of the clergy, the ornaments of the church, the sacred seasons and festivals, were expounded as pregnant with symbolical meanings. Raban Maur and Walafrid Strabo,[x] abbot of Reichenau, followed with liturgical writings in a similar style before the middle of the century; but another eminent writer of the time, Agobard, had taken a strongly different line. Being offended by the mass of irrelevant matter which he found in the service-books of the church of Lyons, he ejected from them all hymns and anthems but such as were taken from Scripture. For this he was censured by Amalarius in a book 'On the Order of the Antiphonary'; and he replied in tracts which, with much display of indignation against his opponent, maintain the principle on which his liturgical reforms had been executed.[y] The archbishop declares the pieces which he had expunged to be "not only unfit and superfluous, but even profane and heretical"; he denounces the practice of devoting excessive attention to music, while the study of Scripture is neglected—a practice, he says, which puffs up clerks who know nothing but music with a conceit of their accomplishments;[z] and,

[t] Vol. iii. p. 356.

[u] 'De Ecclesiasticis Officiis,' Patrol. cv.

[x] *I e.* The squinter. He died in 849. Fabric. in Patrol. cxiii. 9.

[y] 'De Divina Psalmodia.'—'De Correctione Antiphonarii.' Agob Opera, ii.

[z] De Corr. Ant. 18.

when Amalarius published his work on the Divine Offices, Agobard not only reprobated the idle character of his comments, but charged him with errors in doctrine.[a] At a later time, Florus, master of the cathedral school at Lyons, who had been opposed to Amalarius in the case of Gottschalk,[b] assailed him with much asperity for his ritual system,[c] and cited him before two councils, the second of which, on finding that his mystical theories rested on no better foundation than his own fancy, pronounced them to be dangerous.[d] But the style of exposition which Amalarius introduced was followed by the ritualists of the middle ages; it has been kept up in the Roman church; and attempts (which, however, can hardly be regarded as serious) have even been made to revive it in the English church of our own day.

(2.) In the ninth century were formed some collections of lives of saints, arranged according to the order of the calendar, and bearing the title of Martyrologies.[e] Among the compilers of these were Florus,[f] Ado, archbishop of Vienne,[g] Usuard, a monk of St. German's at Paris,[h] and Notker of St. Gall.[i] Biographies of individual saints were

[a] Adv. Amalarium, Opera, ii. 101, seqq.

[b] Vol. iii. p. 363.

[c] He styles it "Error insanus et vanus, fidei et veritatis inimicus, religioni et saluti contrarius." Opusc. adv. Amal. (Patrol. cxix. 73).

[d] Ib. 94; Hist. Litt. iv. 215.

[e] See Pitra, 'Etudes sur la Collection des Actes des Saints par les PP. Bollandistes,' lxxxii. seqq. Paris, 1850.

[f] Patrol. xciv., cxxiii.-iv.

[g] Ib. cxxiii.; Hist. Litt. v. 465.

[h] Patrol. cxxiii.-iv.; Hist. Litt. v. 497.

[i] Patrol. cxxxi.; Acta SS. Apr. 6, p. 584; Schröckh, xxiii. 214-21. This Notker (*Balbulus*) must be distinguished from another (*Labeo*), who lived in the eleventh century, and is famous for a vernacular paraphrase of the Psalms. The elder Notker was also a writer of ecclesiastical hymns or sequences, and is supposed (although not with entire certainty) to have composed the anthem "Media in vita in morte sumus," which has been retained in our own burial service. It came to be used as a battle song and as a charm, and therefore the singing of it without special permission was forbidden by a council at Cologne in 1310 (c. 21). See Ducange, art. *Media Vita;* Daniel, Thesaur. Hymnol. ii. 331; Herzog, art. *Notker;* Hefele, vi. 431. In the Gesta Trevir. Archiepp. (Martene, Coll. Ampl. iv. 246) we find

produced in vast numbers. Older lives were re-written; new legends were composed, as substitutes for the more authentic records which had perished in the ravages of the Northmen; many narratives, with the holy men and women who were the subjects of them, sprang from the invention of the monks. Not only was there much likeness of detail between stories of this kind, but even the whole accounts of some saints were identical in everything except the names.[k] Few men in those days shared the scruples of Letald, a monk of Mici, who, in the preface to a biography, blames the practice of attempting by falsehoods to enhance the glory of the saints, and says that, if the saints themselves had been followers of lies, they could never have reached their perfection of holiness.[l]

A.D. 980.

From the time when St. Dionysius, the martyr of Paris, was identified with the Areopagite of Scripture,[m] other churches endeavoured to invest their founders with a like venerable character. Among them was the church of Limoges, which, as its first bishop, Martial, had been reckoned by Gregory of Tours with the companions of Dionysius in the third century,[n] now referred him, as well as the founder of the see of Paris, to the apostolic age. At a council held at Limoges in 1023, a question arose as to the proper designation of the saint: the bishop, Jordan, was for styling him confessor, but Hugh, abbot

some nuns singing it at the *Salve Regina* in Treves cathedral, "de consilio archiepiscopi et prælatorum et prædicatorum," by way of appeal against a tyrannical neighbour who wished to deprive them of some property bequeathed to them. See hereafter, Book IX. c. viii. sect. 2, 3.

[k] See Giesel. II. i. 313. Guibert of Nogent, in the end of the twelfth century, says that he himself had often been asked to write imaginary biographies of saints for whom the most venerable antiquity was pretended. De Pignoribus Sanctorum, i. 3 (Patrol. clvi. 624).

[l] Ep. Dedic. ad Vit. Juliani (Patrol. cxxxvii. 782). See, however, for other instances, Digby, 'Mores Catholici, x. 517-19, ed. 1.

[m] See vol. i. p. 217; vol. iii. p. 358.

[n] Greg. Turon. i. 28.

of St. Martial's, insisted that his patron was entitled to be called apostle, as having been one of the seventy disciples. Among the most strenuous advocates of the abbot's view was the chronicler Ademar, who had received his education in the monastery of St. Martial; in a vehement letter on the subject, he professes his belief in a legendary life of the saint as being of apostolic antiquity, and no less authentic than the four Gospels;[o] and he strongly declares that no mortal pope can deprive of the apostolical dignity one whom St. Peter himself reveres as a brother apostle.[p] The matter was taken up by councils at Poitiers and at Paris; whosoever should refuse the title of apostle to St. Martial was branded as being like the Ebionites, who, out of enmity against St. Paul, limited the number of apostles to the original twelve; and John XVIII., on being appealed to, declared that it would be madness to question the saint's right to a name which was given not only to the companions of the first apostles, but to St. Gregory for the conversion of England, and to others for their eminent labours as missionaries.[q] The apostolic dignity of Martial, which raised him above martyrs, to whom as a confessor he would have been inferior, was confirmed by councils at Bourges and at Limoges in 1031, and bishop Jordan acquiesced in the decision.[r]

The number of saints had increased by degrees. Charlemagne, as we have seen, found it necessary to forbid the reception of any but such as were duly accredited;[s] but the multiplication went on, the bishops being the

[o] Patrol. cxli. 93-6.

[p] Ib. 106.

[q] Hard. vi. 837-8; Pagi, xv. 590; Mosh. ii. 386; Schröckh, xxiii. 145-8; Giesel. II. i. 315.

[r] Hard. vi. 852, seqq. The Bollandists (June 30, pp. 490, seqq.) are against the claim of St. Martial to apostolic dignity; and Alban Butler, in his account of St. Martial (June 30), says nothing of all these proceedings, but contents himself with the account given by Gregory of Tours, which places the saint in the third century.

[s] Vol. iii. p. 247.

authorities by whom the title of sanctity was conferred.[t] In the end of the tenth century, a new practice was introduced. At a Roman council, held in 993, Ludolf, bishop of Augsburg, presented a memoir of Ulric, one of his predecessors who had died twenty years before, and referred it to the judgment of the bishops who were present, as being an assembly guided by the Holy Spirit. The sanctity of Ulric was attested by stories of miracles, wrought both in his lifetime and after death; and the pope, John XV., with the council, ordered that his memory should be venerated as that of a saint, in words which, while they refer all holiness and religious honour to the Saviour, yet contain the dangerous error of interposing his saints as mediators between Him and mankind.[u]

This was the first authentic instance in which canonization (*i.e.* the insertion of a name in the *canon* or list of saints)[x] was conferred by the decree of a pope. The effect of such a decree was to entitle the saint to reverence throughout the whole of western Christendom, whereas the honour bestowed by bishops or provincial councils was only local.[y] But the pope did not as yet claim an exclusive right; metropolitans continued to canonize, sometimes with the consent of popes, sometimes by their own sole authority, until Alexander III., in 1170, declared that, "even although miracles be done by one, it is not lawful to reverence him as a saint without the sanction of the Roman church."[z] Yet in whatever

[t] Mosh. ii. 294-5. See the complaints of Guibert of Nogent, De Pign. Sanctorum, i. 1 (col. 614).

[u] Hard. vi. 727. A Life of Ulric is in Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. vii., Pertz, iv., and the Patrol. cxlii. The earth in which his body had lain is said to be sovereign as a protection against dormice, for "all who devoutly hold him in honour." Acta SS., Jul. 4, pp. 88, 90, 134-5.

[x] The word was not used until the twelfth century. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. xliv.

[y] Ib. 416; Annal. iv. 84; Acta SS. Bolland., Jul. 4, p. 79. It is said that Nicolas I., with a council, decreed the canonization of St. Anskar, but only by way of confirming the previous canonization of him by Rimbert. Münter, i. 320; Herzog, vii. 327.

[z] Alex. III. ap. Greg. IX., Decretal.

hands the formal sanction might be lodged, the character of saintship was mainly conferred by the people. When a man of reputed holiness died, miracles began to be wrought or imagined, an altar was built over the grave, and an enthusiasm was speedily raised which easily made out a case for canonization. Bishops and popes felt the expediency of complying with the popular feeling, and thus the catalogue of saints was continually swelled by fresh additions.[a]

Stories of miracles done by the saints abounded, and they show how the belief in such interpositions, as probable in every variety of occasions and circumstances, was likely to place these lower mediators in the way of the Author of all miracles. The oppressiveness of too frequent miracles, and the bad effects which the possession of wonder-working relics produced on monks, were felt by many abbots, and some of them, like Hildulf[b] of Moyen-Moutier in an earlier time, took means to deliver their monasteries from such dangerous privileges.[c]

(3.) The honours paid to the blessed Virgin were continually advancing to a greater height. The most extravagant language was used respecting her, and was addressed to her. Peter Damiani speaks of her as "deified,"[d] as "exalted to the throne of God the Father, and placed in the seat of the very Trinity."[e] "To thee," he says, "is given all power in heaven and in earth; nothing is impossible to thee, to whom it is possible even to raise again the desperate to the hope of bliss. For thou approachest the golden altar of man's

xlv. 1; Mabill. Acta SS., Ben. VII. xiv., liii.-liv.; Schröckh, xxviii. 172; Planck, IV. ii. 704-9.

[a] Schröckh, xxiii. 141. See Guib. Novig. de Pignorib. SS. i. 1 (Patrol. clvi. 614).

[b] See vol. iii. p. 244.

[c] See instances in Gieseler, II. i. 310.

[d] Serm. 44, p. 100, col. 2, e.

[e] Ib. 40, p. 91, col. 1, c.

reconciliation, not only asking but commanding; as a mistress, not as a handmaid."[f] He revels in the mystical language of the Canticles, which he interprets as a song in celebration of her nuptials with the Almighty Father.[g] Saturday was regarded as especially consecrated to the Virgin,[h] and offices of prayer to her were framed. The *Ave*, or angelic salutation, became an ordinary part of devotion,[i] and traces are found of what was afterwards styled the Rosary—the repetition of a certain number of prayers (as the Paternoster fifteen times, and the Ave a hundred and fifty times) in her honour.[k] New titles were invented for her; thus Odo of Cluny styled her "mother of mercy." The newly converted Hungarians were taught by a Venetian, on whom king Stephen had bestowed a bishoprick, to call her "lady" or "mistress," and they were placed under her special protection as "the family of St. Mary."[l]

(4.) The festival of All Saints, which had been instituted at Rome in the eighth century,[m] and had been already known in England, was in 835 extended to France, Germany, and Spain, by Gregory IV.[n] In the end of the tenth century a new celebration was annexed to it. A French pilgrim, it is said, in returning from Jerusalem, was cast on a little island of the Mediterranean, where he met with a hermit who told him that the souls of sinners were tormented in the volcanic fires of the island, and that the devils might often be heard howling with rage

[f] Serm. 43, p. 101, col. 1, a.

[g] "Epithalamium." Serm. 11, p. 3, col. 1, d. These passages (which I have verified) are given, with others, by Gieseler, II. i. 316-17. Peter has a strange legend as to devotion to the Virgin. Ep. vi. 29.

[h] See P. Dam. 'De Bono Suffragiorum,' Opusc. xxiv. 4; Durand. Rationale, IV. i. 31-3; Vincent. Ferrer. Serm. in Parasceue, (Pars Hyem. p. 745, ed. Antv. 1572).

[i] P. Dam. l. c. 3; Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. VII. lix.

[k] Ib. lxi.-lxiii.; Giesel. II. i. 317-19; ii. 472; Herzog, art. *Rosenkranz*.

[l] Vita Steph. 16 (Patrol. cli.); Schröckh, xxiii. 153.

[m] See vol. iii. p. 241.

[n] Sigeb. Annal. 835 (Patrol. clx.); Martene, iii. 215; Mosh. ii. 243.

because their prey was rescued from them by the prayers and alms of the pious, and especially of the monks of Cluny. On reaching his own country, the pilgrim, in compliance with the hermit's solemn adjuration, reported this to abbot Odilo, who in 998 appointed the morrow of All Saints to be solemnly observed at Cluny for the repose of all faithful souls, with psalmody, masses, and a copious distribution of alms and refreshment to all poor persons who should be present.[o] The celebration was early in the next century extended to the whole Cluniac order; and eventually a pope (it is not certain who) ordered its observance throughout the church.[p]

(5.) The passion for relics was unabated, and was gratified by the "invention" (as it was somewhat ambiguously called) of many very remarkable articles. Among those discovered in France during the tenth century were one of our Lord's sandals at St. Julien in Anjou, part of the rod of Moses at Sens,[q] and a head of St. John the Baptist (for more than one such head were shown) at St. Jean d'Angely.[r] Vendome boasted the possession of one of the tears shed by the Saviour over Lazarus, which had been caught by an angel, and given

[o] Statut. Odilonis (Patrol. cxlii. 1037); Antiq. Consuet. Cluniac. i. 42 (ib. cxlix.); Jotsald. Vita S. Odil. ii. 14 (Mabillon, viii.); P. Dam. Vita S. Odil. (Opera, ii. 183). The story is somewhat differently told by another biographer (Mabill. viii. 585). Gieseler thinks the legend as to the origin of the festival later than Odilo's time. II. i. 320.

[p] Augusti, iii. 276; Giesel. II. i. 319-21. The Chronicle of Hildesheim mentions its introduction there by Herman, who became bishop in 1063 Leibn. i. 747.

[q] Radulf. Glab. iii. 6.

[r] Ademar, iii. 56 (Pertz, iv.). See Guib. Novig. 'De Pignoribus Sanctorum' I. iii. 2 (Patrol. clvi.); 'Gesta Dei per Francos,' i. v. (ib.). The genuineness of the St. Jean d'Angely relics is denied by the Bollandists (June 24, pp. 648-52). See in the same volume a very full account of all the relics attributed to the Baptist, pp. 612-84. As to the head at St. Sylvester's "in Capite" at Rome (which is nearly entire, and therefore cannot be admitted to be true without disallowing the claims of similar relics in other places), the editor, Papebroch, suggests that, although supposed to be genuine by Boniface VIII. and other popes, it probably belongs to some less eminent St. John, 412-13, 653.

by him to St. Mary Magdalene.[s] The discoveries extended far back into the Old Testament history; there were relics of Abraham and hairs of Noah's beard;[t] for of any additional improbability arising from the greater remoteness of time the age was altogether insensible. These relics drew vast crowds of pilgrims, and became important sources of wealth to the monasteries or churches which possessed them. For the sake of such sacred objects, theft had always been reckoned venial; and now, as we have seen, the peasantry of Catalonia were even ready to murder St. Romuald in the hope of obtaining benefits from his remains.[u]

The impostures connected with this superstition were numberless, and they were not always successful. Relics were sometimes tested by fire, as those found in the Arian churches on the conversion of Spain to orthodoxy had been.[x] Radulf the Bald gives an account of a fellow who went about under different names, digging up bones and extolling them as relics of saints. At a place in the Alps he displayed in a portable shrine some fragments which he styled relics of a martyr, St. Just, and pretended to have discovered by the direction of an angel. A multitude of cures were wrought—a proof, says the chronicler, that the devil can sometimes do miracles; and the people of the neighbourhood flocked to the relics, "each one regretting that he had not some ailment of which he might seek to be healed." The impostor grew into high favour with a marquis who had founded a monastery at Susa, and when a number of bishops had met for the consecration, the pretended relics, together with others, were placed in the church; but in the course of the following night, some monks who were watching

[s] See Mabill. Annal. IV. 532-3, and the engravings there; Schröckh, xxiii. 180-3.

[t] Schröckh, xxiii. 172.

[u] P. 172.

[x] Giesel. II. i. 311. See vol. ii. p. 357.

saw a number of figures, black as Ethiops, arise out of the box and take to flight. Although, however, the fraud was thus miraculously discovered, we are told that the common people for a time adhered to their belief in the relic-monger.[y] Nor were the dealers in relics the only persons who practised on the popular credulity in this respect; another class made it their trade to run about from one shrine to another, pretending to be cured by the miraculous virtue of the saints.[z]

Contests sometimes arose as to the genuineness of relics. The monks of St. Emmeran at Ratisbon disputed with the great French abbey of St. Denys the possession of its patron's body.[a] The body of St. Gregory the Great was believed at once to be in St. Peter's at Rome, and to have been secretly carried off to St. Medard's at Soissons; while Sens, Constance, and somewhat later Torres Novas in Portugal could each display his head.[b] The monks of Monte Cassino denied the genuineness of the remains which had been translated to Fleury as those of St.

[y] Rad. Glab. iv. 3 (A.D. 1027).

[z] Giesel. II. i. 311.

[a] The German claim is said to have arisen out of the fact that Charles the Simple gave one of the saint's hands to Henry the Fowler; but it was pretended that the whole body had been stolen from St. Denys by one Gisalbert, from whom it was said to have been obtained and transferred to Ratisbon by the emperor Arnulf (Patrol. cxliii. 789-90; Pagi, xvii. 667; Mabill. Annal. iii. 266). The pretensions of Ratisbon were attested by many miracles, and a diploma which bears the name of Leo IX., A.D. 1052, professes to decide in favour of them, after full inquiry on the spot (Hard. vi. 965). But the document is spurious (Cossart, ib. 1032; Launoy, de duobus Dionysiis, 470, seqq.; Pagi, xvii. 68; Hefele, iv. 727). The monks of St. Denys, fearing that Leo was about to be drawn into the interest of their rivals, requested him to suspend his judgment until they should have examined the tomb in their own abbey, and the result of a solemn opening was in their favour. ('Detectio corporum SS. Dionysii, etc., Bouquet, xi. 470-4, Pertz, xi. 343-75). Giraldus Cambrensis, in the beginning of the 13th century, says that the monks of St. Denys, after having pledged the head of their patron to the archbishop of Paris, substituted another head for it (Spec. Ecclesiæ, in Works, ed. Brewer, iv. 58). At a later time there was some dispute between Paris and the neighbouring abbey as to the head of St. Denys. See Gerson, t. iv. 721; Monach. Sandionys., Chron. Karoli VI., l. xxvii. c. 13; Juven. des Ursins, A.D. 1385, p. 187.

[b] Acta SS., Mart. 12, pp. 125-39.

Benedict,[c] and the saint himself was said to have confirmed the denial by visions; Canterbury and Glastonbury had rival pretensions to St. Dunstan;[d] and we have seen that both Gnesen and Prague claimed to possess the real body of St. Adalbert, the apostle of Prussia.[e]

(6.) Pilgrimages were more frequent than ever. Rome was, as before, the chief resort, and the hardships of the way were sometimes enhanced by voluntary additions, such as that of walking barefoot.[f] Compostella became another very famous place of pilgrimage from the time when the relics of St. James the Greater were supposed to be found there in 816.[g] Many ventured to encounter

[c] Chron. Casin. ii. 48; iv. 29 (Pertz, vii.); Tosti, i. 182-3. See above, vol. iii. p. 217, and a dissertation at the end of Mabillon's Annals, vol. vi. There is a letter of pope Zacharias, desiring the monks of Fleury to restore the *stolen* body to Monte Cassino (Ep. 17, Patrol. lxxxix.). In a document of which the genuineness is doubtful, Alexander II. is represented as warranting the reality and the integrity of St. Benedict's body as preserved at Monte Cassino, and discovered during the rebuilding of the church by abbot Desiderius, in 1071. (Patrol. cxlvi. 1425.) Urban II., in a bull printed by Tosti, relates that, while at Monte Cassino, he had a vision of St. Benedict, who asked him "Cur de nostra corporali præsentia dubitas?" ii. 83-5, cf. 7-9.

[d] The question as to Dunstan's body was revived so late as the time of Abp. Warham, when it was decided in favour of Canterbury. Wharton, Ang. Sacr. i. 147; Hook, i. 423-7; vi. 345.

[e] P. 85. See for other instances, Giesel. II. i. 316; Vogel, 'Ratherius,' i. 255-7. The chronicler of Monte Cassino (ii. 24) relates that the citizens of Benevento, on being asked by Otho III. to give him the body of the apostle St. Bartholomew, palmed off on him the less precious relics of St. Paulinus of Nola; and the emperor, on discovering the fraud, besieged the city, although without success. Sollier, after a full discussion of the claims of Rome and Benevento, decides that there are relics of St. Bartholomew in both places; but whether those which were translated from Benevento were the greater or the less part of the body, he professes himself unable to determine. Acta SS., Aug. 25, pp. 77-100.

[f] Schröckh, xxiii. 202.

[g] Hist. Compostell. i. 2 (Patrol. clxx.); Acta SS. Jul. 25, pp. 32, seqq. Schröckh, ii. 107, xxiii. 202; Prescott, 'Ferdinand and Isabella,' i. 283. Although the body of the apostle had the head attached to it, the treasures of Compostella were afterwards increased by another head of him, which had been stolen from a church near Jerusalem by Burdinus, bishop of Coimbra (afterwards antipope under the name of Gregory VIII.). See the Acta SS., Jul. 25, pp. 12-18, 24-5. But according to the editor of the Hist. Compostell., *that* head had really belonged to St. James the Less. Part of the greater St. James's head was also said to be in St. Vedast's at Arras, (Acta SS. Jan. 3, p. 158); and Geddes professes to have seen yet another

the dangers of the long and toilsome journey to Jerusalem, where from the ninth century was displayed at Easter the miracle of the light produced without human hand—"considering the place, the time, and the intention, probably the most offensive imposture to be found in the world."[h] This pilgrimage was often imposed as a penance;[i] and the enthusiasm for voluntarily undertaking it was intensely excited by the approach of the thousandth year from the Saviour's birth, and the general expectation of the end of the world. Beginning among the humblest of the people, the feeling gradually spread to the middle classes, and from them to the highest—to bishops, counts, and marquises, to princes and noble ladies; to die amid the hallowed scenes of Palestine was regarded as an eminent blessing, as an object of eager aspiration; and, after the alarm of the world's end had passed away, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem still continued to be frequented. In 1010 the church of the Holy Sepulchre was destroyed by the caliph Hakem, a frantic tyrant, who invented a new religion, still professed by the Druses of Lebanon.[k] It was believed that the caliph was instigated to this by some western Jews, who alarmed him by representing the dangers likely to result from the interest with which the Sepulchre was regarded by Christians;[l] and the Jews of France and other countries paid heavily

head of him at Braga. Tracts, ii. 219, Lond. 1713.

[h] Stanley, 'Sinai and Palestine,' 464. See the French pilgrim Bernard (about A.D. 870) in Patrol. cxxi. 572; Rad. Glab. iv. 6, p. 51; Guib. Novig. 'Gesta Dei,' viii. 10 (Patrol. clvi. 827); Ducange, s. v. *Ignis*, p. 758; Mabill. Annal. iii. 165-8; Schröckh, xxiii. 203-4. When this exhibition was taken up by the *Latin* canons of the Holy Sepulchre, Gregory IX. forbade it, "quia Dominus, ut pro ipso loquamur, mendacio nostro non eget" (Raynald. 1238. 33). There is a treatise on the history of the "holy fire," by Mosheim.

[i] Wilken, i. 34.

[k] Gibbon, v. 400, with Milman's notes; Jowett's 'Christian Researches in Syria,' 41, Lond. 1826; Döllinger, 'Muhammed's Religion,' etc., München, 1838, p. 122.

[l] Rad. Glab. iii. 7. Another account is that Hakem was exasperated by a monk named John, who was angry with the patriarch Zacharias for refusing to consecrate him as a bishop. Besant and Palmer's 'Jerusalem,'

in blood and suffering for the suspicion.[m] After the assassination of Hakem the caliphs resumed the former system of toleration. Hakem's mother, a Christian, began the rebuilding of the church; increasing crowds of pilgrims flowed eastward, carrying with them gifts in aid of the work, and returning laden with relics;[n] and the fashion continued to become more general until in the last years of the century it produced the crusades.[o]

(7.) The beginning of the eleventh century was marked by an extraordinary activity in church-building. There had been little disposition to undertake such works while the expected end of all things forbade the hope of their endurance; but when the thousandth year was completed, the building of churches became a passion. It was not limited to the work of providing for necessity by the erection of new buildings or by enlargement of the old, nor even to the addition of embellishments; but churches which had in every way been found amply sufficient were destroyed in order that more costly structures might be raised in their stead. "It was," says a chronicler, "as if the world were re-awaking, as if it everywhere threw away its old dress, and put on a white vesture of churches."[p] And the effect on the art of architecture was important. Charlemagne's great church at Aix had been copied (although not without the introduction of original features) from the Byzantine type, as exhibited at Ravenna, and after it many churches along the Rhine had displayed Byzantine characteristics, especially the surmounting cupola.[q] St. Mark's at Venice, a church of very oriental

Lond. 1872, p. 103, (a book which contains much information on the subject of pilgrimages, but is unfortunately not supplied with references).

[m] Rad. Glab. l. c.

[n] Ib.

[o] Ib. 4.

[p] Hope, 112, 128, 217; Ampère, iii. 244; Fergusson, i. 594. The term *Byzantine* must not, however, be too strictly taken here. See Fergusson, i. 352.

[q] Hope, 123; Fergusson, ii. 240, 302.

style, was built between 977 and 1071.[r] But in general the ecclesiastical architecture of the west was Roman, and the plan of the basilica was preserved. The churches of the eleventh century maintain the continuity of Roman art, but have yet a new character of their own. It is no longer Roman art in debasement, but a style fresh and vigorously original—the solemn, massive, and enduring architecture which, in its various modifications, has been styled Romanesque, Lombard, or Norman.[s]

It would appear that the art of staining glass, which afterwards became so important in the decoration of churches, was already invented, although the date of the invention is unknown.[t] There has, indeed, been much confusion on this subject, through the mistaken assumption that passages which contain any mention of coloured windows must relate to the painting of figures on the glass, whereas the older descriptions of such windows in reality mean nothing more than the arrangement of pieces of coloured glass in variegated patterns.[u] Perhaps the earliest distinct notice of stained glass is in Richer's history, where we are told that, towards the end of the tenth century, Adalbero, archbishop of Reims, adorned

[r] Ampère, iii. 248.

[s] See Martin, iii. 38-41; Caumont, Abécédaire, i. 54; Ampère, iii. 464.

[t] Emériс David, quoted by Ampère, iii. 252, 342. M. de Montalembert (ii. 291) infers from Venantius Fortunatus that the church of St. Germain-des-Prés, at Paris, had not only organs (see above, vol. iii. p. 232) but stained glass windows, about the year 600. But the only lines in which there is anything on which such a statement as to the windows could be founded, are these :—

"Prima capit radios vitreis oculata fenestris,
Artificisque manu [*al.* manus] clausit in arce diem.
Cursibus aurorae vaga lux laquearia complet,
Atque suis radiis et sine sole micat."

Ven. Fortun. Miscell. ii. 14 (Patrol. lxxxviii.). And the real meaning of them does not imply anything beyond *plain* glazing (which was then a rarity) and a roof ornamented with gilding. Compare the prose description, in note, l. c.

[u] This is the true explanation of passages in which Anastasius speaks of Leo III. as having adorned the Lateran church with windows, "ex vitro diversis coloribus" (Patrol. cxxviii. 1236), and of Benedict III. as having embellished St. Mary's in the Trastevere "vitreis coloribus" (ib. 1354), as also probably of the description which Gozbert, abbot of Tegernsee, gives of the windows presented to his church about the year 1000 (Ep. 3, ib. cxxxix.). See Labarte on the Arts, etc. of the Middle Ages, Lond. 1855, pp. 65-8.

his cathedral with windows "containing divers histories."[x]

(8.) The system of Penance underwent some changes. Things which had been censured by councils in the earlier part of the ninth century became authorised before its end; thus the penitential books, proscribed (as we have seen) by the council of Châlons in 813,[y] are named by Regino among the necessary furniture of a parish priest's library, as to which the bishop is to inquire at his visitation.[z] By means of these books any re-enactments of old canons, or any new canons which appeared to increase the severity of penance, were practically evaded.[a] The rich could commute their penance for payments to churches—for works of public utility, such as the building of bridges and making of roads—for alms to the poor, for liberation of slaves or redemption of captives, for the purchase of masses and psalmody;[b] while for the poorer classes the Penitentials provided such commutations as pilgrimages, recitations of psalms or other devotional exercises, visiting the sick, and burying the dead.[c] The system of vicarious penances, which has been already noticed as existing in England,[d] was, with some varieties, practised in other countries also.[e] Councils might and did enact that with the outward acts which were prescribed the right dispositions of the heart should be joined. But how were these to be secured or ascertained?—how were the penitents to be preserved

[x] iii. 23. M. Labarte does not cite this passage, but sets aside all supposed evidence earlier than the eleventh century, p. 68.

[y] Vol. iii. p. 253.

[z] Inquis. Episcopi, 95 (Patrol. cxxxii. 191). They are prescribed by Ratherius and by Ulric of Augsburg (ib. cxxxv. 1274; cxxxvi. 564).

[a] Planck, ii. 672-5.

[b] That Planck (iii. 678) was mistaken in supposing the clergy to have had as yet no pecuniary interest in the commutation, see Gieseler, II. i. 316.

[c] See the Laws of Edgar, cc. 14-19, in Thorpe, 412-14; Planck, iii. 477-80.

[d] Vol. iii. p. 252.

[e] *E.g.*, Regino de Discipl. Eccl. ii. 438-46 (Patrol. cxxxii.). See Planck, iii. 681; Neand. vi. 150; Giesel. II. i. 336.

from the delusions which a formal prescription of external acts, as equivalent to repentance, could hardly fail to engender?[f] And the dangers of such a system were the more serious, because, by a departure from the view taken in the early ages, penance was now supposed able not only to restore the offender to the church on earth, but to assure him of the divine forgiveness.[g]

With a view of increasing the hold of church-discipline on the minds of men, a distinction was invented between excommunication and anathema, and the assistance of the secular power was called in to enhance by civil penalties the terror of these sentences. Excommunication was exclusion from the privileges of the church; the heavier doom of anathema placed the offender under a curse.[h] The council of Pavia in 850 enacted that the excommunicate person should be incapable of holding any military office or any employment in the service of the state, and should be debarred from ordinary intercourse with Christians.[i] But anathema inflicted further punishments; the culprit against whom it was pronounced could not be a party in ecclesiastical suits, he could not make or establish a will, he could not hold any property under the church, he could not even obtain justice in secular courts where an oath was required, because he was not admissible to swear. No priest would bless the marriage of such a person; the last sacraments were denied to him, and he was to be shut out from Christian burial—penalties which, if the sinner himself were unmoved by them, were likely to act powerfully on the minds of some who were connected with him, and often drew from these large offers of payment for the recon

[f] Planck, iii. 682; Fleury, Disc. at end of b. lix. c. 16.

[g] Schröckh, xxiii. 137. See a letter from a citizen of Spires to Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, on the new assumptions of the clergy as to absolution (about A.D. 1000). Patrol. cli. 693-8.

[h] Planck, iii. 504-9; Giesel. II. i. 169.

[i] Conc. Regioticin. c. 12.

ciliation which it was supposed that the church could bestow even after the offender had passed from the world.[k] The forms of curse became more elaborately fearful, and tales are told of the effect which they took on the unhappy men against whom they were launched, causing them to die suddenly in their impiety, or to wither away under the tortures of long and hopeless disease.[l]

There were, however, some for whom the disabilities annexed to anathema or excommunication had little terror. Emperors and kings, counts and dukes, were strong enough to get justice for themselves, although under a sentence which would have debarred meaner men from it; they could obtain the ministrations of religion from chaplains, in defiance of all ecclesiastical censures; they held their secular positions unaffected by the denunciations of the church.[m] In order to bring such powerful offenders under control the Interdict was devised — a sentence which placed a whole district or kingdom under ban, closing the churches, silencing the bells, removing the outward tokens of religion, and denying its offices to the people, except in such a measure and with such circumstances as tended to impress the imagination with a deeper horror.[n] The infliction of penalties which involved alike the innocent and the guilty had been disapproved in earlier days.[o] The first known attempt at imposing

[k] Planck, iii. 512-15; Giesel. II. i. 342. It is said that St. Gerard, bishop of Toul, who died in 994, used every evening, at his devotions, secretly to take off all the excommunications which he had uttered, lest any of the guilty persons should die unabsolved during the night; and that he imposed the sentence afresh in the morning. Vita, c. 2, ap. Martene, Thes. iii. 1054.

[l] See, for example, the curse uttered by a synod at Reims against the murderers of archbishop Fulk, A.D. 900 (Hard. vi. 465), with Richer's account of the death of Winemar, one of the murderers (i. 18). There is a collection of forms in Martene, De Antiq. Eccl. Ritibus, ii. 322-5.

[m] Planck, iii. 515.

[n] For an elaborate description of the effects of an interdict, see Hurter, 'Gesch. Innocenz III.' i. 374, seqq. ed. 2.

[o] See St. Augustine's remonstrance with Auxilius, Ep. 250 (t. ii. col. 1066),

an interdict—that of the younger Hincmar—was defeated by his metropolitan and by his brother-bishops;[p] and the earliest certain instance in which a bishop actually enforced such a sentence was that of Alduin, bishop of Limoges, in 994.[q] An interdict pronounced against a sovereign was expected to act on him not so much in a direct way as by exciting the minds of his subjects; but the terrors of its indirect action were found to be such as few of the boldest, or of those who were least sensible to spiritual impressions, would venture to provoke or to defy.[r]

(9.) In the early part of the eleventh century a remarkable attempt was made by the clergy of France to mitigate the violence and the discords of the time.[s] Radulf the Bald dates its origin from 1033, when the promise of an abundant harvest, after three years of terrible famine, appeared likely to open men's minds to the religious impressions connected with the completion of a thousand years from the Saviour's passion.[t] But it would seem that the movement had really begun somewhat earlier, and that the subject had already been treated by councils, as by that of Limoges in 1031—the same which decreed the apostolic dignity of St. Martial.[u]

With a view of putting an end to the feuds or private

[p] See vol. iii. p. 400.

[q] Ademar. A.D. 994; Giesel. II. i. 342. See Herzog, art. *Interdikt.* Ivo of Chartres, who died in 1125, speaks of it as a new and unusual remedy. Epp. 95, 121 (Patrol. clxii.).

[r] Planck, iii. 518, 529; Martin, iii. 563.

[s] See Datt, 'Volumen Rerum Germanicarum,' Ulm, 1698, pp. 11-13; Robertson, 'Charles V.' in Works, v. 259, seqq., ed. Oxf.; Semichon, 'La Paix et la Trève de Dieu,' Paris, 1857; Kluckhohn, 'Gesch. des Gottesfriedens,' Leipz. 1857; and for documents, Bouquet, xiv. 389, seqq.

[t] Planck, IV. i. 4.

[u] See Hard. vi. 891; Cossart, ib. 894; Giesel. II. i. 346; Gfrörer, iv. 302. M. Semichon (7) and Dr. Kluckhohn (16) trace back its origin to the council of Charroux in 989, which forbade the carrying off of animals belonging to husbandmen, and all violences against ecclesiastics. Prof. Giesebrecht supposes the movement to have begun with some Burgundian bishops, who in 1020 agreed to impose an oath for the observance of peace and justice (Gesta Epp. Camerac. iii. 28, Patrol. cxlix.) ii. 608; cf. 637-8.

wars which had long wasted the population and the soil of France, it was proposed to bind men to the observance of peace; that they should abstain from wrong-doing and revenge, that every one should be able to go unarmed without fear of old enmities; that churches should shelter all but those who should be guilty of breaking the "peace of God." At the council of Limoges it was ordered that, if the chiefs of the district refused to comply, it should be laid under an interdict; that during the interdict no one, with the exception of the clergy, beggars, strangers, and infants, should receive Christian burial; that the offices of religion should be performed as if by stealth;[x] that the churches should be stripped of their ornaments; that no marriage should be celebrated; that mourning habits should be worn; that no wine should be drunk on Friday, and no flesh should be eaten on Saturday.[y] When the movement became more general, a bishop professed to have received a letter from heaven, commanding the observance of the peace. Gerard, bishop of Cambray (the same who has been mentioned as having converted a party of heretics to the church[z]), alone opposed the scheme, as he had opposed a somewhat similar project some years before. He maintained that it was an interference with matters which belonged to the state; that the exercise of arms was sanctioned by Scripture; that it was lawful to require the restoration of things taken by violence, and amends for bodily injuries; that the proposed fasts ought not to be enforced on all, inasmuch as men were neither alike able to bear them nor alike guilty so as to require such discipline. The bishop's enemies, however, were able to misrepresent his conduct in such a manner that his flock

A.D. 1034.

[x] "Latenter."

[y] Hard. vi. 885; Rad. Glab. iv. 5. Baronius is very angry with the councils for presuming to undertake such business without the pope's sanction, 1034. 5-6.

[z] P. 123.

rose against him as being an enemy to peace; and he found it expedient to withdraw his opposition.[a] The people, it is said, were eager to accept the proposal, as if it had been a revelation from heaven; and from Aquitaine the movement spread into other provinces of France. A harvest equal to that of five years was gathered in; another and another fruitful season followed. But the enjoyment of plenty wore out the popular enthusiasm; violence and vice became more rife than ever,[b] and the decrees of councils were little heeded.

In 1038 Aimo, archbishop of Bourges, as if distrusting the efficacy of purely spiritual threats, assembled the bishops of his province, and agreed with them that an oath should be exacted from their people, by which every male above the age of fifteen should bind himself to wage implacable war against all robbers, oppressors, and enemies of holy church. The clergy were not exempted from the oath, but were to carry their sacred banners on the expeditions undertaken for the pacification of the country; and in consequence of this compact many castles, which had been the strongholds of violence and tyranny, were destroyed, and ruffians who had been a terror to their neighbours were reduced to live peaceably. About the year 1041 a modified scheme was brought forward under the name of the "truce of God." It was now proposed, not that an unbroken peace should be established, but that war, violence, and all demands of reparation should be suspended during Advent, Lent, and certain festival seasons, and also from the evening of Wednesday in each week to the dawn of the following

[a] Gesta Pontiff. Camerac. iii. 27, 52-4 (Patrol. cxlix.); Sigebert. Gemblac. A.D. 1033 (ib. clx.); Hard. vi. 893. Dr. Kluckhohn seems to be right in holding that the first notice in the 'Gesta Pont. Camer.' relates to a time about ten years earlier than the second notice. pp. 25-7, 31.

[b] Rad. Glab. iv. 5. See a document published from a Vatican MS. by De Certain, and reprinted by Kluckhohn, 35-7.

Monday—a time which included the whole interval from the Saviour's betrayal to His resurrection.[c] And in connexion with this other decrees were passed for the protection of the weaker classes—the clergy, monks, nuns, and women—for securing the privilege of sanctuary, and for mitigating the injuries which were inflicted on the labours of husbandry,—as that shepherds and their flocks should not be injured, that olive-trees should not be damaged, that agricultural tools should not be carried off, or, at least, should never be destroyed.[d]

Henry I. of Neustria refused to sanction this project, and it is said that, in punishment of his refusal, his dominions were visited by an extraordinary disease, a "fire from heaven," which was fatal to many of his subjects and crippled the limbs of others.[e] But the truce, which found zealous and powerful advocates, such as Odilo of Cluny,[f] was received throughout the rest of France and in other countries;[g] and it became usual for the inhabitants of a diocese or a district to bind themselves by compact to the observance and to

[c] Rad. Glab. v. 1, pp. 59-60. The wars against which the truce was directed were not public but private wars (De Marca, 649). Dr. Kluckhohn maintains that the word *treva* ought to be understood according to its etymology, which relates to the *truth* (*Treue*) with which the truce was to be observed, and denies that this is distinguished from the *pax* as being limited in time, whereas the *pax* was permanent (42, 52). But it seems pretty clear that, at the time when the *treva* or *treuga Dei* was instituted, the etymology was not regarded; and something of the modern distinction between *truce* and *peace* runs through the documents, although this distinction is not uniformly marked. Sometimes *pax* means the scheme of unbroken peace, as distinguished from the intermittent truce; sometimes the two words are applied to different parts of the system—*pax* being the permanent exemption of the defenceless classes from violence, and *treuga* the temporary suspension of war (see Conc. Narbon. A.D. 1054; Conc. Lateran. III., A.D. 1179, cc. 21-2). Sometimes, however, they were identified—"Pax ipsa treva Dei appellatur," says Hugh of Flavigny (l. ii., Patrol. cliv. 262). See Datt, l. c.; Ducange, s. v. *Treva*; Pagi, xvi. 605; Giesel. II. i. 345-7.

[d] Conc. Narbon. A.D. 1054, cc. 9-10; Sismondi, iv. 249.

[e] See Rad. Glab. vi. p. 60; Hugo Flavin. l. ii. (Patrol. cliv. 262).

[f] See Martene, Thes. i. 161.

[g] Hugo. Flav. l. c. See Kluckhohn as to Germany, England, Italy, and Spain.

organize measures for the enforcement of it.[h] The weekly period of rest was, however, too long to be generally adopted. A council held in 1047 at Elne, an episcopal city of the Spanish march, reduced it to the interval between the ninth hour on Saturday and the daybreak of Monday;[i] and it appears thus abridged in the laws of Edward the Confessor.[k] Yet at a later time we again find the longer weekly rest of four days enacted by councils;[l] and it was in this form that the truce received for the first time the papal sanction from Urban II. at Clermont, and was confirmed in the second and third councils of the Lateran.[m] The frequent re-enactments of the truce would, if there were no other evidence, be enough to show that it was but irregularly observed. Yet, imperfect as was the operation of this measure, its effects were very beneficial in tending to check the lawlessness and disorder of the times by the influence of Christian humanity and mercy. "We must," says a historian nowise favourable to the church of the middle ages, "regard it as the most glorious of the enterprises of the clergy, as that which most conduced to soften manners, to develop the sentiments of compassion among men without injury to the spirit of bravery, to supply a reasonable basis for the point of honour, to bestow on the people as much of peace and happiness as the condition of society would then admit, and, lastly, to multiply the population to such a degree as was able afterwards to supply the vast emigrations of the crusades."[n]

[h] Ivo, Ep. 90 (Patrol. clxiii.). See Semichon.

[i] See Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 183. Some place this council in 1027. See Hard. vi. 842; Giesel. II. i. 346. The see of Elne was afterwards translated to Perpignan.

[k] A.D. 1054 (?). Thorpe, 190.

[l] *E.g.*, Conc. Narbon. A.D. 1054, c. 2 (Hard. vi. 1032); Conc. Helen. A.D. 1065 (?) (ib. 1148).

[m] Conc. Claromont. A.D. 1095, c. 1; Conc. Lat. II. A.D. 1139, c. 12; Conc. Lat. III. A.D. 1179, c. 21. Cf. Conc. Lat. I. A.D. 1123, c. 13; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1131, c. 11; Conc. Rem. A.D. 1157, ap. Martene, Coll. Ampl. vii. 75, etc.

[n] Sismondi, iv. 248.

IV. *Chivalry.*

It was in these times that the institution of chivalry, so powerful in its influence on the middle ages, grew up, and at the end of the period embraced in this book the system was nearly complete.[o]

We have seen that during the distractions of France castles multiplied throughout the land; that each castle became an engine of aggression and defence, a centre of depredation.[p] In this state of society every man's hand was against every man; the lord of the castle lived within its walls, cut off from intercourse with his neighbours, and only sallying forth for war, for private feuds, or for plunder.[q] Yet the isolation of the nobles was not without its good effects. Debarred from other equal society, the feudal lord was obliged to cultivate that of his wife and children; and hence resulted a peculiar development of the family life. The lady, who in her husband's absence acted as the guardian of the castle, was invested with new responsibilities and a new dignity;[r] while the training of youth occupied much of the time which might otherwise have hung heavily. The sons of vassals were sent to be educated under the roof of the superior, where they grew up together with his own sons; and thus a tie was formed which at once assured the lord of the fidelity of his vassals, and the vassals of their lord's protection.[s] The nobly-born youths were able, like the deacon in the church, to perform offices of service without degradation.[t] In the evening hours they were admitted to the society of

[o] Guizot, iii. 91.

[p] P. 10.

[q] Guizot, i. 68-72; Hallam, Suppl. Notes, 125-9.

[r] Hallam, ii. 465. See Guizot, iii. 91, and his picture of the mother of Gilbert of Nogent, in the middle of the eleventh century (92-5), from Guib. De Vita Sua (Patrol. clvi.).

[s] Sismondi, iv. 205-6; Guizot, iii. 102.

[t] Ste. Palaye, 'Mém. sur l'Ancienne Chevalerie,' i. 18, Paris, 1781; Sismondi, iv. 204. The relation of apprentice to master among the trading class was afterwards copied from this

the ladies, and from such intercourse a general refinement of manners arose among the higher classes.[u]

That among the Germans the admission of a young man to the rank of warriors was marked by a public investiture with arms, we know from the evidence of Tacitus;[x] and the continuance of the custom after the Frankish conquest of Gaul is to be traced from time to time in the annals.[y] This ancient national usage now acquired a new importance, and assumed a form which at once signified the admission of the youth to the order of knighthood, and symbolized the tie between the vassal and the superior.[z] It was celebrated with religious ceremonies which gave it the character of a military ordination. The candidate was stripped of his dress, was bathed as if in a baptism, was clothed afresh with garments of symbolical meaning; he watched his arms in the castle chapel; he confessed and communicated; his armour was put on, his weapons were blessed, an exhortation as to his duties was addressed to him; he solemnly vowed to serve God, to protect the ladies and the weak, to be faithful and humble, gentle, courteous, honourable, and disinterested. According to a practice which was common in attesting documents and the like, he received a blow in remembrance of his new obligations, and by this blow, for which a stroke of the sword was afterwards substituted, the ceremony was completed.[a]

[u] Ste. Palaye, i. 16; Sismondi, ii. 206.

[x] Germania, 13; Scott, 'Essay on Chivalry,' Miscell. Works, vi. 6.

[y] Ste. Palaye, i. 67-8; Guizot, iii. 103 (whose view here differs from Sismondi's).

[z] Ib. 105.

[a] Martene, De Ant. Eccl. Rit. l. ii. c. 12; Ste. Palaye, i. 71, seqq.; Scott, vi. 11; Guizot, iii. 107-11; Sismondi, iv. 202. The blow was not intended as an affront (as has been wrongly supposed), but appears to have been given for the purpose mentioned in the text. (See Chart. pro Monast. Pratellensi, ap. Bouquet, xi. 387; Ordre de la Chevalerie, quoted by Ste. Palaye, Dissert. ii. n. 25; Sismondi, 203). Even in our own time and country, means of this kind are used for impressing on the mind the remembrance of parish boundaries. Ducange, however (s. v. *Alapa*), rather derives the chivalric blow from that anciently given at the manumission of a slave.

The nature of these ceremonies proves that the clergy had taken up the old Teutonic rite of initiation, and had converted it to purposes of religion and humanity; and this is no less evident from the duties to which the knight was bound—differing so widely as they did from the general characteristics of the laity in the times when the system was introduced. The warriors, whose rude force was naturally dangerous to the church and to social order, were to be enlisted in the service of both, and bound to it by solemn engagements.[b] And poetry as well as religion soon threw itself around the new institution. The legends of saints, which for centuries had been the only popular literature, were now rivalled by lays and romances of knightly adventure;[c] and the ideal embodied in these compositions—"noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship"[d]—became the model which the knights aspired to imitate. The history of the ages in which chivalry prevailed shows indeed a state of things far unlike the pure and lofty precepts of the institution; yet, however the reality may have fallen short of the ideal, it was a great gain for civilization that such a pattern should be established as authoritative—that men should acknowledge a noble and elevating standard in their hearts, although their actual lives too commonly presented a sad and discreditable contrast to it.[e]

[b] Guizot, iii. 111; Fauriel, Hist. de la Poésie Provençale, i. 479-83.

[c] See Hist. Litt. vi. 16.

[d] Pref. to 'Mort d'Arthur,' quoted by Digby, 'Broad Stone of Honour,' i. 17.

[e] Robertson, 'Charles V.' in Works, iii. 62-4; Hallam, M. A. ii. 459-62; Hist. Litt. i. 175, seqq.; Mackintosh, i. 174-8; Sismondi, Litt. du Midi, i. 89-93; Martin, iii. 385, seqq.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE DEPOSITION OF POPE GREGORY VI. TO THE DEATH OF POPE CELESTINE III., A.D. 1046-1198.

CHAPTER I.

THE PONTIFICATES OF CLEMENT II., DAMASUS II., LEO IX., VICTOR II., STEPHEN IX., NICOLAS II., AND ALEXANDER II.

A.D. 1046-1073.

THE deposition of Gregory VI. and his rivals by the council of Sutri left the papacy vacant. It was said that the Roman clergy were almost universally disqualified for the dignity by ignorance, simony, or concubinage,[a] and Henry III. resolved to bestow it on one of the prelates who had accompanied him from Germany — Suidger, a Saxon by birth, and bishop of Bamberg. The nomination of Suidger is said by some authorities to have taken place at Sutri;[b] but his formal inauguration was, according to ancient custom, reserved to be performed at Rome. On Christmas-eve 1046, the day after his arrival in the city, Henry desired the Romans, assembled in St. Peter's,

[a] Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 853); Bonizo, 802.

[b] For this supposition, see Luden, viii. 640, who follows Herman the Cripple; against it, Stenzel, ii. 25 who prefers Benzo. Bonizo (802 is not clear.

to proceed to the election of a pope. They answered that they were bound by an oath to choose no other pope during the life-time of Gregory, but begged that the king would give them one who might be useful to the church; whereupon Henry was invested with the ensigns of the patriciate, and in the character of chief magistrate of Rome presented Suidger to the assembly. In answer to his question whether any worthier pope could be named from among the Roman clergy, no voice was raised by way of objection; and the king, leading Suidger by the hand, seated him in St. Peter's chair, where he was hailed with acclamations as Clement the Second.[c] On Christmas day, the anniversary of the day on which, nearly two centuries and a half before, Charlemagne had been crowned by Leo III.—the imperial coronation of Henry and his queen Agnes was celebrated with extraordinary splendour and solemnity.[d]

The emperor was earnestly bent on a reformation of the church, and had selected Suidger as a fit agent for the execution of his plans. Soon after his election the pope held a council with a view to the correction of abuses, and it was decreed that any one who had received ordination from a simoniac, knowing him to be such, should do penance for forty days.[e] But beyond this little or nothing is known of Clement, except that he visited the south of Italy, and that after a pontificate of less than ten months he died at a monastery near Pesaro, in October 1047;[f] whereupon Benedict IX.,

Jan. 1047.

[c] Ordo Romanus, Patrol. xcviii. p. 763, seqq.; Herm. Contr. A.D. 1046; Victor III., Dial. iii. p. 854; Bonizo, 802; Höfler, i. 232. The consent of the patrician was held to be necessary to the appointment of a pope. See Gregorov. iv. 62-4, and his quotations.

[d] Patrol. l. c.; Höfler, i. 234-50; Giesebr. ii. 416-20. For the ceremony of an imperial coronation, see Gregorov. iv. 56, seqq.

[e] Hard. vi. 923-5.

[f] See Pagi, xvii. 10-11; Luden, viii. 218; Stenzel, i. 118. Gregorovius believes that Clement was poisoned by Benedict's contrivance (iv. 67). But for this there is no older authority than Lupus the protospathary (Chron.

supported by his kinsmen, and by Boniface, the powerful marquis of Tuscany, seized the opportunity of again thrusting himself for a time into possession of the vacant see.[g]

The emperor had returned to Germany in June 1047, carrying with him the deposed pope, Gregory. At a great assembly of bishops and nobles, which appears to have been held at Spires, Henry strongly denounced the simony which had generally prevailed in the disposal of church preferment. He declared himself apprehensive that his father's salvation might have been endangered by such traffic in holy things. The sin of simony, which infected the whole hierarchy, from the chief pontiff to the doorkeeper, had drawn down the scourges of famine, pestilence, and the sword; and all who had been guilty of it must be deposed. These words spread consternation among the prelates, who felt that they were all involved in the charge, and implored the emperor to have pity on them. He replied by desiring them to use well the offices which they had obtained by unlawful means, and to pray earnestly for the soul of Conrad, who had been a partaker in their guilt. An edict was published against all simoniacal promotions, and Henry solemnly pledged himself to bestow his ecclesiastical patronage as freely as he had received the empire.[h]

But while the emperor projected a reformation of the church by means of his own authority, there was among the clergy a party which contemplated a more extensive

A.D. 1047, Patrol. clv.), and Romuald of Salerno (Chron. A.D. 1047, Murat. vii.),—both of the following century.

[g] Annales Romani, ap. Pertz, v. 469.

[h] Rad. Glab. v. 5. See Stenzel, ii. 132. Pagi (xvii. 7) thinks that Clement was present at this assembly. There is a strange legend as to Henry's giving a bishoprick to a clerk in consideration of a silver squirt which he had formerly taken from him ("fistulam argenteam, quo adolescentes aquam jaculari consueverunt"), and of visions by which he was haunted in consequence. Th. de Vrie, in Von d. Hardt, Concil. Constant. i. 63.

reform, and looked to a different agency for effecting it. This party was willing for the time to accept Henry's assistance;[1] for his sincerity was unquestionable, his power was an important auxiliary, and his objects were in some degree the same with its own. Like the emperor, these reformers desired to extirpate simony, and to deliver the papacy from the tyranny of the Italian nobles. But their definition of simony was more rigid than his; with simony their abhorrence connected the marriage and concubinage of the clergy—offences which Henry (perhaps from a consciousness that his own character was not irreproachable as to chastity)[k] did not venture to attack; and above all things they dreaded the ascendency of the secular power over the church. To the connexion of the church with the state, to the feudal obligations of the prelates, they traced the grievous scandals which had long disgraced the hierarchy — the rude and secular habits of the bishops, their fighting and hunting, their unseemly pomp and luxury, their attempts to render ecclesiastical preferments hereditary in their own families. And what if the empire were to achieve such an entire control over the papacy and the church as Henry appeared to be gaining? What would be the effect of such power, when transferred from the noble, conscientious, and religious emperor to a successor of different character? The church must not depend on the personal qualities of a prince; it must be guided by other hands, and under a higher influence; national churches, bound up with and subject to the state, were unequal to the task of reformation, which must proceed, not from the state, but from the hierarchy, from the papacy, from heaven through Christ's vicegerent, the successor of St. Peter; to him alone on earth it must be subject;

[1] See Pet. Damiani, 'Lib. Gratissimus.' c. 36.

[k] See Rad. Glab. v. 1. Luden disbelieves this charge, viii. 644.

and for this purpose all power must be centred in the papacy.[1]

Henry had exacted from the Romans an engagement, for which he is said to have paid largely, that they would not again choose a pope without his consent.[m] A deputation in the interest of the reforming party now waited on him with a request that he would name a successor to Clement. They would have wished for the restoration of Gregory VI.; but, as such a proposal was likely to offend the emperor, they begged that he would appoint Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, who was well known and highly esteemed at Rome in consequence of frequent pilgrimages to the "threshold of the apostles."[n] Halinard, however, had no wish for the promotion, and sedulously abstained from showing himself at the imperial court. Henry requested the advice of Wazo, bishop of Liége, a prelate of very high reputation, whose wise and merciful views as to the treatment of heretics have been mentioned in a former chapter;[o] the answer recommended the restoration of Gregory, whose deposition Wazo ventured to blame on the ground that the pope could not be judged except by God alone. But before this letter reached the emperor, his choice had already fallen on Poppo, bishop of Brixen, who assumed the name of Damasus II.[p] The new pope was conducted to Rome by Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and Benedict fled at his approach; on the 17th of July, 1048, he was installed in St. Peter's chair; and on the 9th of August he was dead.[q] The speedy deaths of two

Dec. 25, 1047.

[1] Voigt, 'Hildebrand,' 8-9; Rémusat 'S. Anselme,' 186.

[m] Vita Halinardi, c. 7 (Mabill. ix.); Annal. Rom. (Pertz, v. 469). The continual mention of the influence of money at Rome is a remarkable feature in these Annals.

[n] Vita Halin. c. 7; Chron. S. Benign; Divion. ap. Pertz, vii. 237.

[o] See p. 113. Also Herzog, xvii. 571.

[p] Anselm. Gesta Episc. Leod. c. 65 (Pertz, vii.).

[q] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1048, and note, Pertz, v. 128; Jaffé

German popes were ascribed by some to poison;[r] the opinion of another party is represented by Bonizo, bishop of Sutri, who tells us, in the fierceness of national and religious hatred, that Damasus, "a man full of all pride," was appointed by the patricial tyranny of Henry, and that within twenty days after his invasion of the pontifical chair he "died in body and in soul."[s]

The emperor was again requested to name a pope, and fixed on his cousin Bruno. More than twenty years before this time Bruno had been chosen as bishop by the clergy and people of Toul, had accepted that poor see against the will of the emperor Conrad, who had destined him for higher preferment; he enjoyed a great reputation for piety, learning, prudence, charity, and humility; he was laborious in his duties, an eloquent preacher, a skilful musician, and was not without experience in public affairs.[t] From unwillingness to undertake the perilous dignity which was now offered to him, he desired three days for consideration, and openly confessed his sins with a view of proving his unfitness. But the emperor insisted on the nomination, and at a great assembly at Worms, in the presence of the Roman envoys, Bruno was invested with the ensigns of the papacy.[u] After revisiting Toul he set out for Italy in pontifical state; but at Besançon it is said that he was met by Hugh abbot of Cluny, accompanied by an Italian monk named Hildebrand; and the result of the meeting was memorable.[x]

[r] As to Clement, see p. 208, note [f]; as to Damasus, Benno (in Goldast. Apol. Henrici, 13).

[s] Bonizo, p. 803; Luden, viii. 221.

[t] Wibert, Vita Leonis, ii. 8-13 (Mabill. ix.); Giesebr. ii. 452-5.

[u] Wibert, ii. 2.

[x] The interview is not mentioned by Wibert, and is therefore questioned or doubted by Pagi (xvii. 20), Stenzel (i. 121), Giesebrecht (ii. 457), and others. Some place it at Cluny (as Otho of Freising, vi. 33); some at Worms, where they suppose Hildebrand to have been at the time of the pope's nomination; others say that Leo sent for him. I follow Bonizo (803) in referring the meeting to Be-

Hildebrand was born of parents in a humble condition of life near Suana (now Sovana), an ancient Etruscan city and the seat of a bishoprick, between 1010 and 1020.[y] From an early age he was trained at Rome for the ecclesiastical profession under an uncle, who was abbot of St. Mary's on the Aventine.[z] He embraced the most rigid ideas of monachism, and, disgusted by the laxity which prevailed among the Italian monks, he crossed the Alps, and entered the austere society of Cluny, where it is said that the abbot already applied to him the prophetic words, "He shall be great in the sight of the Highest."[a] After leaving Cluny he visited the court of Henry,[b] and on his return to Rome he became chaplain[c] to Gregory VI., whose pupil he had formerly been. On the deposition of Gregory, Hildebrand accompanied him

sançon. (See Schröckh, xxi. 339; Theiner, ii. 6; Neand. vi. 50; Giesel. II. i. 231; Voigt, 8; Luden, viii. 227; Bowden, i. 139; Höfler, ii. 6; Gfrörer, iv. 448; Giesebr. ii. 648; Villemain, i. 280-2; Hefele, iv. 679). Floto argues against the story, and supposes Hildebrand to have been not the master but the pupil of Bruno (i. 173-4). He seems to prove that Hugh could hardly have been present, as he had been only just chosen abbot, and was not yet installed; but his argument against the alleged route rests on the mistake of supposing *Augusta* to mean Augsburg, instead of Aosta.

[y] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ix. 406; Voigt, 1. His father has been commonly described as a carpenter; but Giesebrecht thinks that he was more likely a peasant (iii. 11-12, 1080). [Even if the late Professor Gfrörer were a more satisfactory writer, I should feel little shame in confessing that I have not read his Life of Gregory VII., which has been published since the first edition of this volume; for it so far exceeds all reasonable limits as to fill (without reckoning the index) seven large volumes—equal to about 8,000 of my pages! M. Villemain's long promised 'Hist. de Gregoire VII.' has appeared since his death (Paris, 1873), but is somewhat disappointing. The summary of Hildebrand's life and labours, which is announced in the table of contents, is not to be found.]

[z] Paul. Bernriedensis, Vita Gregorii, c. 9, ap. Mabill. ix Fables as to his early years may be found in the Annal. Saxo. (Pertz. vi. 701).

[a] Paul. Bernr. 2 (who wrongly calls the abbot Majolus, instead of Odilo—Majolus having really died before the birth of Hildebrand).

[b] Ib. 7. A legend in the Annals of Pölde (Pertz, xvi. 69, 70) represents the beginning of his acquaintance with the court as earlier.

[c] Domestic clerks, of whatever order, were the *chaplains* of the persons to whose household they were attached. Thus Norbert the founder of the Præmonstratensians, while a subdeacon, is styled the *capellanus* of Henry V. Hermann. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Mart. Tornac. 85 (Patrol. clxxx.).

into Germany, and at his patron's death, in the beginning of 1048, he again withdrew to Cluny.[d] There it may be supposed that he brooded indignantly over that subjection of the church to the secular power which had been exemplified in the deprivation and captivity of Gregory; and that those theories became matured in his mind which were to influence the whole subsequent history of the church and of the world.

The character of Hildebrand was lofty and commanding. His human affections had been deadened by long monastic discipline; the church alone engrossed his love. Filled with magnificent visions of ecclesiastical grandeur, he pursued his designs with an indomitable steadiness, with a far-sighted patience, with a deep, subtle, and even unscrupulous policy. He well knew how to avail himself of small advantages as means towards more important ends, or to forego the lesser in hope of attaining the greater. He knew how to conciliate, and even to flatter, as well as how to threaten and denounce. Himself impenetrable and inflexible, he was especially skilled in understanding the characters of other men, and in using them as his instruments, even although unconscious or unwilling.

In his interviews with Bruno, Hildebrand represented the unworthiness of accepting from the emperor that

[d] Hildebrand says of himself, at the Roman synod of 1080, that he accompanied Gregory VI. over the Alps "unwillingly" (Hard. vi. 1589); hence there is a question whether, on account of some unknown share in the late affairs of Rome, he was included in the order for his master's banishment, as is asserted by Benno (ap. Goldast. 13); or whether his "unwillingness" merely relates to his dissatisfaction on account of the treatment of Gregory. See Mabill. Annal. iv. 479; Luden, viii. 207-8, 643. Voigt thinks it probable that he went at Gregory's request (31). Floto, altering *nostri* to *vestri* in Greg. Ep. i. 79, supposes that the deposed pope and his companion lived at Cologne (i. 155). The statement that Hildebrand was prior of Cluny (Godefr. Viterb. in Patrol. cxcviii. 973) seems to have arisen from a confusion between him and another of the same name. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ix. 407; Annal. iv. 479. See the Bollandist Acta SS., May 25, pp. 106-7.

dignity which ought to be conferred by the free choice of the Roman clergy and people. His lofty views and his powerful language prevailed; the pope laid aside the ensigns of the apostolical office and, taking Hildebrand as his companion, pursued his journey in the simple dress of a pilgrim. It is said that miracles marked his way; that at his prayer the swollen waters of the Teverone sank within their usual bounds,[e] to give a passage to him and to the multitude which had gathered in his train; and his arrival at Rome, roughly clad and barefooted, raised a sensation beyond all that could have been produced by the display of sacerdotal or imperial pomp. In St. Peter's he addressed the assembled Romans, telling them that he had come for purposes of devotion; that the emperor had chosen him as pope, but that it was for them to ratify or to annul the choice.[f] The hearers were strongly excited by his words; they could not but be delighted to find that, renouncing the imperial nomination as insufficient, he chose to rest on their own free election as the only legitimate title to the papacy. Nor was Bruno an unknown man among them; for yearly pilgrimages to Rome had made them familiar with his sanctity and his virtues;[g] and he was hailed with universal acclamations as Pope Leo the Ninth. Feb. 12.

Hildebrand was now the real director of the papacy. Leo ordained him subdeacon, and bestowed on him the treasurership of the church, with other preferments. Among these was the abbacy of St. Paul's, on the Ostian way, which he restored from decay and disorder, and to which he was throughout life so much attached that, whenever he met with a check in any of his undertakings, he used to send for some of the monks, and ask them what sin they had committed to shut up God's ear against

[e] Wibert, Vita Leonis, ii 2.
[f] Ib.; Bonizo, 803.
[g] Wibert, ii. 1.

their intercessions for him.[h] The party of which Hildebrand was the soul was further strengthened by some able men whom Leo brought from beyond the Alps, and established in high dignities—such as the cardinals Humbert, Stephen,[i] and Hugh the White, Frederick, brother of Godfrey duke of Lorraine, and Azoline, bishop of Sutri. But above all these was conspicuous an Italian who was now introduced among the Roman clergy—Peter Damiani.[k]

This remarkable man was born at Ravenna, in the year 1007.[l] His mother, wrought to a sort of frenzy by the unwelcome addition to a family already inconveniently large, would have left the infant to perish; but when almost dead he was saved by the wife of a priest, whose upbraidings recalled the mother to a sense of her parental duty.[m] Peter was early left an orphan, under the care of a brother, who treated him harshly, and employed him in feeding swine; but he was rescued from this servitude by another brother, Damian, whose name he combined with his own in token of gratitude.[n] Through Damian's kindness he was enabled to study; he became famous as a teacher, pupils flocked to hear him, and their fees brought him abundant wealth. His life meanwhile was strictly ascetic; he secretly wore sackcloth, he fasted, watched, prayed, and, in order to tame his passions, he would rise from bed, stand for hours in a stream until his limbs were stiff with cold, and spend the remainder of the night in visiting churches and reciting the psalter.[o] In the midst of his renown and prosperity Peter was struck by the thought that it

[h] P. Bernried. 13-14; Bonizo, 803. Giesebrecht places Hildebrand's appointment to St. Paul's in 1059, under Nicolas II. iii. 52, 1086.

[i] See Hist. Litt. viii. 1.

[k] Bonizo, 803.

[l] Murat. Ann. VI. i. 39.

[m] Vita, c. 2, prefixed to his works.

[n] Although he is sometimes called Petrus Damian*us*, the name is more properly Damian*i*—*i.e.* the brother of Damian. Murat. Annal. VI. i. 39.

[o] Vita, 2.

would be well to renounce his position while in the full enjoyment of its advantages, and his resolution was determined by the visit of two brethren from the hermit society of Fonte Avellano in Umbria. On his giving them a large silver cup as a present for their abbot, the monks begged him to exchange it for something lighter and more portable; and, deeply moved by their unworldly simplicity, he quitted Ravenna without the knowledge of his friends, and became a member of their rigid order.[p] Peter soon surpassed all his brethren in austerity of life, and even gained the reputation of miraculous power. He taught at Fonte Avellano and in other monasteries, and was raised to the dignity of abbot.[q]

The elevation of Gregory VI. was hailed by Peter with delight, as the dawn of a new era for the church,[r] and, although his hopes from that pope were soon extinguished by the council of Sutri, he was able to transfer his confidence to Henry III., so that he even rejoiced in the emperor's obtaining a control over elections to the papacy.[s] He still, therefore, continued hopefully to exert himself in the cause of reform, and he was employed by Henry III. to urge on Pope Clement the necessity of extirpating the simony which the emperor had found everywhere prevailing as he returned homewards through northern Italy.[t]

The character of Peter Damiani was an extraordinary mixture of strength and of weakness. He was honest, rigid in the sanctity of his life, and gifted with a ready and copious eloquence; but destitute of judgment or discretion, the slave of an unbounded credulity and of a

[p] Vita 4. See also Opusc. xiv. t. iii. 140-3. There is a dissertation by Grandi in the 'Patrologia,' cxliv., written to show that this society belonged to the order of Camaldoli; but according to others, it was not united with the Camaldolites until the 16th century. See the Acta SS., Feb. 23, p. 413; cf. Oct. 14, p. 88.

[q] Vita, 5-13. [r] See p. 64

[s] Liber Gratissimus (Opusc. vi.)c. 36

[t] P. Dam. Ep. i. 3.

simple vanity, and no less narrow in his views than zealous, energetic, and intolerant in carrying them out. His reading was considerable, but very limited in its nature, and in great part of a very idle character. His letters and tracts present a medley of all the learning and of all the allegorical misinterpretations of Scripture that he can heap together; his arguments are seasoned and enforced by the strangest illustrations and by the wildest and most extravagant legends. The humour which he often displays is rather an oddity than a talent or a power; he himself speaks of it as "buffoonery,"[u] and penitentially laments that he cannot control it. In our own age and country such a man would probably be among the loudest, the busiest, the most uncharitable, and the most unreasonable enemies of Rome; in his actual circumstances Peter Damiani was its most devoted servant. Yet his veneration for the papacy did not prevent him from sometimes addressing its occupants with the most outspoken plainness,[x] or even from remonstrating against established Roman usages, as when he wrote to Alexander II. against the decretal principle that a bishop should not be accused by a member of his flock, and against the practice of annexing to decrees on the most trivial subjects the awful threat of an anathema.[y] In such cases it would seem that he was partly influenced by a strong and uncompromising feeling of right, and partly by his passion for exercising in all directions the office of a monitor and a censor. If Hildebrand understood how to use men as his tools, Peter was fitted to be a tool.[z] He felt that Hildebrand was his master, and his service was often reluctant; but, although he vented his discontent in letters and in epigrams, he obeyed his "hostile friend," his "saintly Satan."[a]

[u] "Scurrilitas," Ep. v. 2.
[x] *E.g.*, Ep. i. 5, to Victor II.
[y] Ep. i. 18. See Schmidt, ii. 298-9.
[z] See Ep. ii. 8.
[a] *I.e.* adversary or accuser. Ep. i. 11.

The superstitions of the age had no more zealous votary than Peter Damiani. His language as to the blessed Virgin has already been noticed for its surpassing extravagance.[b] From him the practice of voluntary flagellation, although it was not altogether new,[c] derived a great increase of popularity. He recommended it as "a sort of purgatory," and defended it against all assailants. If, he argued, our Lord, with his apostles and martyrs, submitted to be scourged, it must be a good deed to imitate their sufferings by inflicting chastisement on ourselves; if Moses in the Law prescribed scourging for the guilty, it is well thus to punish ourselves for our misdeeds; if men are allowed to redeem their sins with money, surely those who have no money ought to have some means of redemption provided for them; if the Psalmist charges men to "praise the Lord on the timbrel," then, since the timbrel is an instrument made of dried skin, the commandment is truly fulfilled by him who beats by way of discipline his own skin dried up by fasting.[d] Cardinal Stephen ventured to ridicule this devotion, and induced the monks of Monte Cassino to give up the custom of flogging themselves every Friday, which had been adopted at the instance of Peter;[e] but the sudden and premature deaths of Stephen and his brother soon after gave a triumph to its champion, who represented the fate of the brothers as a judgment on the cardinal's profanity.[f]

In addition to other writings, Peter contributed to the cause of flagellation a life of one Dominic, the great hero of this warfare against the flesh.[g] Dominic had been

[b] P. 187.

[c] It is mentioned by Regino (De Discipl. Eccles. ii. 442, seqq., Patrol. cxxxii.). See Mabill. VIII xvi.; Schröckh, xxiv. 132; Giesel. II. i. 340.

[d] Epp. v. 8; vi. 26; Opusc. xlii., 'De Laude Flagellorum.'

[e] Chron. Casin. iii. 20.

[f] Opusc. xlii. c. 2.

[g] Opera, ii. 210, seqq. See Acta SS Oct. 14.

ordained a priest; but, on discovering that his parents had presented a piece of goat-skin leather to the bishop by whom he had been ordained, he was struck with such horror at the simoniacal act that he renounced all priestly functions, and withdrew to the rigid life of a hermit. He afterwards placed himself under Damiani, at Fonte Avellano, where his penances were the marvel of the abbot and of his brethren. Next to his skin he wore a tight iron cuirass,[h] which he never put off except to chastise himself. His body and his arms were confined by iron rings; his neck was loaded with heavy chains; his scanty clothes were worn to rags; his food consisted of bread and fennel; his skin was as black as a negro's from the effects of his chastisement.[i] Dominic's usual exercise was to recite the psalter twice a day, while he flogged himself with both hands at the rate of a thousand lashes to ten psalms. It was reckoned that three thousand lashes—the accompaniment of thirty psalms—were equal to a year of penance; the whole psalter, therefore, with its due allowance of stripes, was equivalent to five years. In Lent, or on occasions of special penitence, the daily average rose to three psalters; he "easily" got through twenty—equal to a hundred years of penance—in six days; once, at the beginning of Lent, he begged that a penance of a thousand years might be imposed upon him, and he cleared off the whole before Easter. He often performed eight or even nine psalters within twenty-four hours, but it was long before he could achieve ten; at length, however, he was able on one occasion to accomplish twelve, and reached the thirty-second psalm in a thirteenth.[k] These flagellations were supposed to have the effect of a satisfaction for the sins of other men.[l] In his latter years, for the sake of greater

[h] Hence the epithet by which he is known, *Loricatus*.

[i] Vita, 11.

[k] Ib. 8-10.

[l] Fleury, l. 62.

severity, Dominic substituted leathern thongs for the bundles of twigs which he had before used in his discipline. He also increased the number of the rings which galled his flesh, and the weight of the chains which hung from his neck; but we are told that sometimes, as he prayed, his rings would fly asunder, or would become soft and pliable.[m] The death of Dominic, who had become prior of a convent on Mount Soavicino (or San Vicino) in the march of Ancona, appears to have taken place in the year 1060.[n]

The marriage of the clergy was especially abominable in the eyes of Peter Damiani. He wrote, preached, and laboured against it; his language on such subjects is marked by the grossest and most shameless indecency. Soon after Leo's accession he presented to him a treatise, the contents of which may be guessed from its frightful title—'The Book of Gomorrha.'[o] The statements here given as to the horrible offences which resulted from the law of clerical celibacy might have suggested to any reasonable mind a plea for a relaxation of that discipline; but Peter urges them as an argument for increasing its severity. He classifies the sins of the unchaste clergy, and demands the deposition of all the guilty. Leo thanked him for the book, but decided that, although all carnal intercourse is forbidden to the clergy by Scripture and the laws of the church, all but the worst and the most inveterate sinners should be allowed, if penitent, to retain their offices.[p] A later pontiff, Alexander II., obtained possession of the manuscript under pretence of getting it copied; but he showed his

[m] Vita, 10-12.

[n] See the Acta SS., Oct. 14, p. 617 and Auctar. 88, against Mabill. ix. 149, who dates it in 1062.

[o] Opusc. ix. See Theiner, ii. 24.

[p] Leo IX. Ep. 15 (Hard. vi. 976). Cf. P. Dam. Ep. i. 4; which Mabillon (Annal. iv. 501) supposes to show that Leo was afterwards persuaded by the censured party to object to the book as too free-spoken.

opinion of its probable effects by locking it up, and the author complains that, when he attempted to reclaim it, the pope jested at him and treated him like a player.[q]

The act of Leo in renouncing the title derived from the imperial nomination might have been expected to alarm and offend Henry. His kinsman, the object of his patronage, had become the pope of the clergy and of the people, and might have seemed to place himself in opposition to the empire. But the emperor appears to have regarded Leo's behaviour as an instance of the modesty for which he had been noted. He made no remonstrance; and Hildebrand was careful to give him no provocation by needless displays of papal independence.[r]

Leo found the treasury so exhausted that he even thought of providing for his necessities by selling the vestments of the church.[s] But by degrees the rich and various sources which fed the papal revenue began to flow again, so that he was in a condition to carry on his administration with vigour, and to undertake measures of reform.

A.D. 1049. A synod was held at which he proposed to annul the orders of all who had been ordained by simoniacs. It was, however, represented to him that such a measure would in many places involve a general deprivation of the clergy, and a destitution of the means of grace. The definition of simony had in truth been extended over many things to which we can hardly attach the idea of guilt. The name was now no longer limited to the purchase of holy orders, or even of benefices: it was simony to pay anything in the nature of fees or first-fruits, or even to make a voluntary present to a bishop or patron; it was simony to obtain a benefice, not only by payment, but as the reward of service or as the tribute of kindness. "There are three kinds of gifts," says Peter

[q] Ep. ii. 6, where he requests Hildebrand to help him in recovering it.

Luden, viii. 239; Bowden, ii. 146. Wibert, ii. 3.

Damiani; "gifts of the hand, of obedience, and of the tongue."[t] The service of the court he declares to be a worse means of obtaining preferment than the payment of money;[u] while others give money, the price paid by courtly clerks is nothing less than their very selves.[x] In consideration of the universal prevalence of simony, therefore, Leo found himself obliged to mitigate his sentence, and to revert to the order of Clement II., that all who had been ordained by known simoniacs should do penance for forty days.[y] It would seem also that at this assembly the laws for the enforcement of celibacy were renewed—the married clergy being required to separate from their wives, or to refrain from the exercise of their functions, although it was probably at a later synod that Leo added cogency to these rules by enacting that any "concubines" of priests who might be discovered in Rome should become slaves in the Lateran palace.[z] A.D. 1051?

Leo entered on a new course of action against the disorders of the church. The bishops were so deeply impli-

[t] Ep. ii. 1. This classification seems to have become current. See, *e.g.*, Chron. Casin. iv. 120.

[u] Ep. i. 13.

[x] Opusc. xxii. c. 2; cf. Lib. Gratissim. c. 35 (Opera, iii. 36, seqq.). This book was written against the opinion that orders given by simoniacs are invalid. Peter argues that the grace of ordination does not depend on the man who gives it, but on his office. The children of blind or deformed persons do not inherit the defects of their parents (c. 28). Even miracles have been done by simoniac and incontinent bishops and clergy, and by persons who had been ordained by such bishops (28-9). Humbert, on the other hand, maintained that, as the sacraments of heretics are invalid, and simony is heresy, the ordination given by simoniacs, even although it be gratuitous, conveys nothing but condemnation (Adv. Simoniacos, ii. 26, etc., Patrol. cxliii.). In the next generation, Bruno, bishop of Segni and abbot of Monte Cassino, wrote a tract in answer to the idea that, through the universal simony, the christian ministry had perished. He lays down that the grace of ordination depends on the receiver; as, if a simoniac be ordained by a catholic, the bishop's blessing is turned into a curse, so, if a catholic be ordained by a simoniac, that which for the giver's sin would be a curse, becomes a blessing to the faithful receiver. Patrol. clxv. 1133.

[y] Hard. vi. 991.

[z] P. Damiani, Opusc. xviii. (Patrol. cxlv. 411); Bonizo, l. 5 (ib. cl. 821); Bernold. A.D. 1049 (ib. cxlviii.). See Theiner, ii. 31; Hefele, iv. 682.

cated in these that from them no thorough reformation could be expected; the pope would take the matter into his own hands, and would execute it in person. Imitating the system of continual movement by which Henry carried his superintendence into every corner of the empire, he set out on a circuit of visitation. On the way he visited Gualbert of Vallombrosa, an important ally of Hildebrand and the reforming party.[a] He crossed the Alps, and redressing wrongs, consecrating churches, and conferring privileges on monasteries as he proceeded, he reached Cologne and Aix-la-Chapelle. At Aix he effected a reconciliation between the emperor and Godfrey duke of Lower Lorraine, who for some years had disturbed the public peace. The duke was sentenced to restore the cathedral of Verdun, which he had burnt; he submitted to be scourged at the altar, and laboured with his own hands at the masonry of the church.[b]

A.D. 1049.

As bishop of Toul (which see he retained for a time, as Clement II. had retained Bamberg) Leo had promised to be present at the consecration of the abbey church of St. Remigius at Reims. He now announced his intention of fulfilling the promise, and from Toul issued letters summoning the bishops of France to attend a synod on the occasion.[c] The announcement struck terror into many—into prelates who dreaded an inquiry into their practices, and into laymen of high rank whose morals would not bear examination; and some of these beset the ears of the French king, Henry I. It was, they said,

[a] Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. c. 26 (Mabill. ix.).

[b] Lambert. Hersfeld. A.D. 1046, 1049 (Pertz, v.); Gesta Epp. Virdun., Patrol. cciv. 926. There were other examples of such flagellation in that age Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, was flogged at the altar for simony by Guy, abbot of Pomposa (Donizo, Vita Mathildis, i. 16, ap. Pertz. xii.); and Henry III. himself submitted to chastisement by Hanno of Cologne. Vita Annonis, ib. xi. 469.

[c] Hard. vi. 993-4. Leo resigned Toul in 1051, saying that he had kept it until then out of a wish to benefit the poor bishoprick by his power as pope. Wibert, ii. 8; Giesebr. ii. 493.

a new thing for a pope to assume the right of entering France without the sovereign's permission; the royal power was in danger of annihilation if he allowed the pope to rule within his dominions, or countenanced him by his presence at the council. Henry had already accepted an invitation, but these representations alarmed him. He did not, however, venture to forbid the intended proceedings, but excused himself on the plea of a military expedition, and begged that Leo would defer his visit until a more settled time, when the king might be able to receive him with suitable honours. The pope replied that he was resolved to attend the dedication of the church, and that, if he should find faithful persons there, he intended to hold a council.[d]

The assemblage at Reims was immense. The Franks of the east met with those of Gaul to do honour to the apostle of their race, the saint at whose hands Clovis had received baptism; and even England had sent her representatives.[e] There were prelates and nobles, clergy and monks, laymen and women of every condition, whose offerings formed an enormous heap. All ranks were mingled in the crowd; they besieged the doors of the church on the eve of the ceremony, and thousands passed the night in the open air, which was brilliantly lighted by their tapers.[f] The pope repeatedly threatened to leave the great work undone, unless the multitude would relax its pressure. At length the body of St. Remigius was with difficulty borne through the mass of spectators, whose excitement was now raised to the uttermost. Many wept, many swooned away, many were crushed to death. The holy relics were lowered into the church through a window, as the only practicable

Oct. 2, 1049.

[d] Hard. vi. 996. See Hefele, iv. 686. Humbert strongly charges Henry with simony (Adv. Sim. iii. 7).

[e] Ang.-Sax. Chron. p. 242.

[f] Hard. vi. 998.

entrance, whereupon the crowds, excluded by the doors, seized the hint, and swarmed in at the windows. Instead of being at once deposited in its intended resting-place, the body was placed aloft above the high altar, that its presence might give solemnity to the proceedings of the council.[g]

On the day after the consecration the assembly met. Oct. 3-5. Some of the French bishops and abbots who had been cited were unable to attend, having been compelled to join the royal army;[h] but about twenty bishops and fifty abbots were present—among whom were the bishop of Wells, the abbot of St. Augustine's at Canterbury, and the abbot of Ramsey.[i] The pope placed himself with his face towards the body of St. Remigius, and desired the prelates to sit in a semicircle on each side of him. It was announced that the council was held for the reformation of disorders in the church and for the general correction of morals; and the bishops and abbots were required to come forward, and to swear that they had no been guilty of simony either in obtaining their office or in their exercise of it. The archbishops of Treves, Lyons, and Besançon took the oath. The archbishop of Reims requested delay; he was admitted to two private interviews with the pope, and at the second session he obtained a respite until a council which was to be held at Rome in the following April.[k]

Of the bishops, all but four took the oath; of the abbots, some swore, while others by silence confessed their guilt.[l] Hugh bishop of Langres (who, before the investigation of his own case, had procured the deposition of an abbot of his diocese for incontinence and other irregularities), was charged with many and grievous of-

[g] Hard. vi. 999-1000.
[h] Ib. 996.
[i] Ib. 1002; Goscelin. Hist. Transl. S. Aug. ii. 3 (Patrol. clv.).
[k] Hard. 1003.
[l] Ib.

fences: witnesses deposed that he had both acquired and administered his office simoniacally; that he had borne arms and had slain men; that he had cruelly oppressed his clergy, and even had used torture as a means of exacting money from them; that he had been guilty of adultery and of unnatural lust. After having been allowed to confer with the archbishops of Lyons and Besançon, he requested that these prelates might be admitted to plead his cause. The archbishop of Besançon, on standing up for the purpose, found himself unable to utter a word, and made a sign to Halinard of Lyons, who acknowledged his client's simony and extortion, but denied the other charges.[m] The bishops of Nevers and Coutances professed that their preferments had been bought for them by their relations, but without their own knowledge or consent, and, on their submission, were allowed to retain their sees. The bishop of Nantes, who confessed that he had purchased the succession to his father in the bishoprick, was degraded to the order of presbyter.[n]

At the end of the first session it was asked, under the threat of anathema, whether any member acknowledged any other primate of the church than the bishop of Rome. The pope's claim, and the lawfulness of his proceedings, were admitted by a general silence; and he was then declared to be primate of the whole church and apostolic pontiff.[o]

At the second session it was found that the bishop of Langres had absconded during the night. The archbishop of Besançon acknowledged that his dumbness when he had attempted to defend the delinquent on the preceding day was the infliction of St. Remigius; the pope and the prelates prostrated themselves before the relics of the

[m] Hard. vi. 1400.
[n] Ib. 1006.
[o] Ib. 1003; Planck, iv. 23-5.

saint, and Hugh of Langres was deposed.[p] The council lasted three days. Twelve canons were passed, of which the first declared that no one should be promoted to a bishoprick without the choice of his clergy and people. Excommunications were pronounced against the archbishop of Sens and other prelates who, whether from fear of the pope's inquisition, or in obedience to the king's summons, had neglected the citation to the council; and we are told that within a year the judgments of heaven fell heavily on the counsellors who had influenced Henry against the pope. The bishop of Compostella was excommunicated for assuming the title of apostolic, and attempting to set up an independent Spanish papacy.[q] The Breton bishops, whose church had long been separate from that of Rome, and whose chief styled himself archbishop of Dol, had been summoned to Reims, but as they did not attend, were charged to appear at Rome.[r]

From Reims Leo proceeded to Mentz, where a council was held in the emperor's presence;[s] and in this assembly Sibicho, bishop of Spires, purged himself of a charge of adultery by receiving the holy eucharist.[t]

Oct. 19? 1049.

The pope returned to Italy in triumph. He had assured himself of the support of Germany, and had

[p] Hard. vi. 1005. He afterwards, by a very humble submission at Rome, obtained his restoration to the episcopal order, and became a monk of St. Vanne's at Verdun, where he died. Chron. S. Vit. Virdun. ap. Lanfranc. ed. D'Achery, Append. p. 67.

[q] Hard. vi. 1007.

[r] Ib. 1004. See above, iii. 329; iv. 133. For the later history of the Breton church, which became united to Rome, and subject to the metropolitan see of Tours, see Leo, Ep. 40 (Patrol. cxliii.); Urban II. Ep. 77, 113 (ib. cli.); Haddan-Stubbs, ii. 94-6.

[s] Leo, Ep. 22 (Patrol. cxliii.); Hefele, iv. 695, seqq.

[t] Lambert of Hersfeld (A.D. 1050) and Adam of Bremen (iii. 29) speak as if Sibicho were successful in the ordeal. Wibert says that his cheek was affected with palsy during the rest of his life; his inference, however, is, not that the bishop was guilty, but that even for the innocent such trials are fearful. De Obit. Leon. c. 6.

crushed the tendencies to independence which had appeared in the churches of France and Spain.[u] The system of visitations which he had thus commenced was continued throughout his pontificate, and its result was greatly to increase the influence of Rome. He practically and successfully asserted for himself powers beyond those which had been ascribed to the papacy by the forged decretals. The pope entered kingdoms without regard to the will of the sovereign; he denounced the curses of the church against prelates whose allegiance to their king interfered with obedience to his mandate. He was not only to judge, but to originate inquiries; and these were carried on under the awe of his personal presence, without the ordinary forms of justice. Bishops were required by oath to accuse themselves, and the process of judgment was summary.[x] Yet, startling as were the novelties of such proceedings, Leo was able to venture on them with safety; for the popular feeling was with him, and supported him in all his aggressions on the authority of princes or of bishops. His presence was welcomed everywhere as that of a higher power come to redress the grievances under which men had long been groaning; there was no disposition to question his pretensions on account of their novelty; rather this novelty gave them a charm, because the deliverance which he offered had not before been dreamt of. And the manner in which his judgments were conducted was skilfully calculated to disarm opposition. Whatever there might be of a new kind in it, the trial was before synods, the old legitimate tribunal; bishops were afraid to protest, lest they should be considered guilty; and, while the process for the discovery of guilt was unusually severe, it was, in the execution, tempered with an appearance of mildness which took off much from its severity. Offenders

[u] Milman, ii. 444. [x] Planck, iv. 17-18.

were allowed to state circumstances in extenuation of their guilt, and their excuses were readily admitted. The lenity shown to one induced others to submit, and thus the pope's assumptions were allowed to pass without objection.[y]

Leo again crossed the Alps in 1050, and a third time in 1052. This last expedition was undertaken in part for the purpose of attempting a reconciliation between the emperor and Andrew, king of Hungary, who had become a Christian, and had re-established the profession of the gospel in his dominions; but the pope's mediation proved unsuccessful.[z] Another object of the journey was to request the emperor's aid against the Normans. These had now firmly established themselves in southern Italy; they warred against both empires, or took investiture from either, according to their convenience. As far as their enterprise could reach, there was no safety from their aggressions; they invaded the patrimony of St. Peter, assaulted the pope's own train, and threatened Rome itself.[a] They spared neither age nor sex; the pope was deeply afflicted by the sight of miserable wretches who crowded into the city from the Apulian side, having lost eyes or noses, hands or feet, by the barbarity of the Normans; while reports continually reached him of monasteries sacked or burnt, and their inmates slain or cruelly outraged.[b] His grief and indignation overflowed, and, finding remonstrances, entreaties, and denunciations vain, he endeavoured to engage both the Greek and the German emperors in a league against his formidable neighbours.[c]

The pope found that by allying himself with the Italian party he had excited the jealousy of his own countrymen

[y] Planck, iv. 26-34; Giesel. II. i. 229.
[z] Wibert, ii. 8.
[a] Gibbon, v. 331-2; Schröckh, xxii. 346.
[b] Wibert, ii. 10.
[c] Ep. 7. ad Constant. Monomach. (Hard. vi. 959).

—a feeling which was significantly shown at Worms, where he spent the Christmas of 1052 with the emperor. On Christmas-day, as Luitpold, archbishop of Mentz and metropolitan of the diocese, was officiating at mass in the cathedral, a deacon chanted a lesson in the German fashion, which was different from that of Rome.[d] Leo, urged by the Italians of his train, commanded him to stop; and, as the order was unheeded, he called the deacon to him at the end of the lesson, and degraded him from his office. The German primate begged that he might be restored, but met with a refusal. The service then proceeded; but at the end of the offertory Luitpold, indignant at the slight offered to the national usage, declared that it should go no further unless the deacon were restored; and the pope found himself obliged to yield.[e]

A feeling of jealousy against Rome would seem also to have dictated the answer to a request which the pope made for the restoration of the bishoprick of Bamberg, and of the abbey of Fulda, to St. Peter, on whom they had been bestowed by Henry II.[f] Instead of these benefices, which might have given a pretext for interfering with his German sovereignty, the emperor conferred on the pope the city of Benevento, the adjoining territory having already been granted to the Normans.[g]

The success of Leo's application for aid against the Normans was frustrated by the emperor's chancellor, Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt. Whether from apprehen-

[d] It seems as if the Roman fashion were to *read* it.

[e] Ekkehard, A.D. 1073 (Pertz, vi.). "Qua in re," says the chronicler, "et pontificis [*i.e.* archiepiscopi] auctoritas et apostolici consideranda est humilitas, dum et ille officii sui dignitatem defendere contendebat, et iste, licet majoris dignitatis, metropolitano tamen in sua diocesi cedendum perpendebat."

[f] See p. 55.

[g] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Chron. Casin. ii. 46; Giannone, ii. 198-201. It was not until 1077 that the popes got actual possession of Benevento, on the death of the last Lombard prince. (Ib. 241). See Giesebr. ii. 494, 498.

sion of danger on the side of Hungary,[h] from overweening contempt of the Normans,[i] or from German jealousy of the papacy, he persuaded Henry to recall the troops which had already been placed at the pope's disposal; and Leo, on his return to Italy, was followed by only seven hundred men, chiefly Swabians and Lotharingians, but including many outlaws and desperate adventurers from other quarters.[k] It was the first time that a pope had appeared as the leader of an army against a professedly Christian people. Although Leo, when a deacon, had led the contingent of Toul in the imperial force,[l] his own synods had renewed the canons against warrior bishops and clergy,[m] and Peter Damiani was scandalized at the indecency of the spectacle:—Would St. Gregory, he asked, have gone to battle against the Lombards, or St. Ambrose against the Arians?[n] But as Leo moved along, multitudes of Italians flocked to his standard, so that, when the armies met near Civitella, he had greatly the advantage in numbers, while his sturdy Germans derided the inferior height and slighter forms of the enemy. The Normans attempted to negotiate, and offered to hold their conquests under the apostolic see; but they were told that the only admissible terms were their withdrawal from Italy and a surrender of all that they had taken from St. Peter.[o] No choice was thus left them but to fight with the courage of despair.[p] The armies engaged on the 18th of June, 1053; the pope's Italian troops ran away; his Germans stood firm, and were cut to pieces; he himself fled to Civitella, but the gates of the town were shut against

[h] Luden, viii. 277.

[i] Höfler, ii. 156.

[k] Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Gibbon, v. 333.

[l] Wibert, i. 7, p. 56; Giesebr. ii. 254.

[m] *E.g.*, Conc. Rem. A.D. 1049, c. 6.

[n] Ep. iv. 9 (Patrol. cxliv. 316). Baronius (1053. 13) tries to refute him; others, to explain the words away. See Schröckh, xxi. 530. Bruno of Segni, in his Life of Leo, also disapproves of his going to war. Patrol. clxv. 1116.

[o] Guil. Appul. ii. 95-108.

[p] Ib. 137, seqq.

him, and he fell into the hands of the Normans.[q] But defeat was more profitable to the papacy than victory could have been. The victors—some probably from rude awe, and others from artful policy[r]—fell at the captive's feet; they wept, they cast dust on their heads, they poured forth expressions of penitence, with entreaties for his forgiveness and blessing.[s] An accommodation was concluded, by which Leo granted them the conquests which they had already made, with all that they could acquire in Calabria and Sicily, to be held under the holy see. Thus the Normans, who had hitherto been regarded as a horde of freebooters, obtained the appearance of a legal, and even a sanctified, title to their possessions; while the pope, in bestowing on them territories to which the Roman see had never had any right (except such as might be derived from Constantine's fabulous donation[t]), led the way to the establishment of an alliance which was of vast importance to his successors, and of a claim to suzerainty over the kingdom of Naples which lasted down to our own times.[u]

Leo was carried to Benevento, where he was detained in a sort of honourable captivity. His hours were spent in mournful thoughts of the past and of the future. He engaged in the strictest practices of asceticism and devotion; he celebrated mass daily for the souls of the soldiers who had fallen on his side, and at length was comforted by a vision which assured him that, as having been slain for the Lord, they

June, 1053 to March 12, 1054.

[q] The accounts of this vary in some respects. See Herm. Contr. A.D. 1053; Malaterra, i. 14, ap. Muratori, v.; Chronique de Rob. Viscart, i. 11 (published with Amatus by Champollion-Figeac); Gibbon, v. 333; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 179; Höfler, ii. 175; Jaffé, 377. Giesebrecht says that the name of the town (which no longer exists) ought to be Civitate (ii. 653). The unscrupulous Benno accuses Hildebrand of having, in league with Benedict IX., betrayed Leo to the enemy (ap. Goldast. 14).

[r] Milman, ii. 461.

[s] Guil. Appul. ii. 261; Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 470.

[t] Murat. Ann. VI. i. 245.

[u] Giannone, ii. 203-6; Sismondi, R. I. i. 179.

were partakers in the glory of martyrs.[x] At the end of nine months, feeling himself seriously ill, he obtained leave to return to Rome. He caused his couch to be spread in St. Peter's, and his tomb to be placed near it. To the clergy, who were assembled around him, he addressed earnest exhortations to be watchful in their duty, and to exert themselves against simony; he commended his flock to Christ, and prayed that, if he had been too severe in dealing the censures of the church on any, the Saviour would of His mercy absolve them. Then, looking at his tomb, he said with tears, "Behold, brethren, how worthless and fleeting is human glory. I have seen the cell in which I dwelt as a monk changed into spacious palaces; now I must again return to the narrow bounds of this tomb." Next morning he died before the altar of St. Peter.[y] Tales of visions and miracles were circulated in attestation of his sanctity, and the doubts which some expressed on account of the part which he had taken in war were overpowered by the general veneration for his memory.[z]

April 19, 1054.

During the last days of Leo IX., important communications were in progress between the churches of Rome and Constantinople. From the time of Photius these churches had regarded each other with coolness, and their intercourse had been scanty. But the eastern emperors were induced by political interest to conciliate the pope, whose hostility might have endangered the remains of their Italian dominion; and about the year 1024 a proposal was made to John XVIII., on the part of Basil II. and of the Byzantine patriarch Eustathius, that the title of Universal should be allowed alike to the patriarch and to the bishop

[x] Wibert. ii. 11-12; Annal. Rom. ap. Pertz, v. 470; Anon. Haserensis, ib. vii. 265.

[y] Libuin. de Obitu S. Leonis, Mabill. Acta SS. Ben., ix. 78-80.

[z] Ib.; Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 854); Bonizo ap Oefel. 804.

of Rome.[a] The gifts with which the bearers of this proposal were charged made an impression on the notorious cupidity of the Romans, and the pope was on the point of yielding.[b] But the rumour of the affair produced a great excitement in Italy and France. William, abbot of St. Benignus at Dijon, an influential ecclesiastic of Italian birth,[c] addressed a very strong remonstrance to the pope. Although, he said, the ancient temporal monarchy of Rome is now broken up into many governments, the spiritual privilege conferred on St. Peter is inalienable; and, after some severe language, he ended by exhorting John to be more careful of his own duties in the government and discipline of the church. The pope yielded to the general feeling, and the negotiation came to nothing.[d]

In 1053 Michael Cerularius, patriarch of Constantinople, and Leo, archbishop of Achrida and metropolitan of Bulgaria—alarmed perhaps at the progress of the Norman arms, which seemed likely to transfer southern Italy from the Greek to the Latin church[e]—addressed a letter to the bishop of Trani in Apulia, warning him against the errors of the Latins.[f] The point of difference on which they most insisted was the nature of the eucharistic bread.

[a] According to Radulf the Bald, the proposal was that the patriarch should be styled Universal within his own sphere, and the pope throughout the whole church (iv. 1). But this writer's language appears to be tinged by his prejudices as a Latin; and such a proposal would have been inconsistent with the pretensions of the Greeks of that age, who had come to think that the primacy of the church was transferred to Constantinople, together with the seat of empire, and that this arrangement was confirmed by the council of Chalcedon (Anna Comnena, i. 13; Nilus Doxopatrius, ap. Le Moyne, Varia Sacra, i. 243). I have, therefore, preferred the representation given by Hugh of Flavigny, "ut sua ecclesia, sicut et Romana, universalis diceretur." Pertz, viii. 392.

[b] Baronius remarks that, as he had bought the pontificate, so he was ready to sell himself, 1024. 4.

[c] See Rad. Glab. iii. 5; a Life of William by him in Mabillon, Acta SS. Ben. viii.; and Hist. Litt. vii. 318, 392.

[d] Rad. Glab. iv. 1; Hugo Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 392.

[e] Gibbon, vi. 5.

[f] It exists only in the Latin translation. Baron. 1053. 23-31; or Patrol. cxliii. 793.

It would appear that although our Lord, at the institution of the sacrament, used unleavened bread, as being the only kind which the Mosaic law allowed at the paschal season, the apostles and the early church made use of common bread. Such had continued to be the custom of the Greeks, nor had any difference in this respect been mentioned among the mutual accusations of Photius and his western opponents. But, whether before or after the days of Photius, the use of unleavened bread had become established in the west,[g] and Michael inveighed against it, as figurative of Judaism and unfit to represent the Saviour's death. The Greek word by which bread is spoken of in the Gospels (ἄρτος) signifies, he said, something *raised;* it ought to have salt, for it is written, "Ye are the salt of the earth"; it ought to have leaven, which a woman—the church—hid in three measures of meal, a symbol of the Divine Trinity. The other charges advanced against the western church were the practice of fasting on the Saturdays of Lent, the eating of things strangled and of blood, and the singing of the great Hallelujah at Easter only. The patriarch and his associate concluded by requesting that the bishop of Trani would circulate the letter among the western bishops and clergy.

Humbert, cardinal-bishop of Sylva Candida, one of the most zealous among the Roman clergy, who happened to be at Trani when this letter arrived, translated it, and communicated it to Leo;[h] who was also soon after informed that Cerularius had closed the Latin churches and had seized on the Latin monasteries at Constantinople. On this the pope addressed from Benevento a letter of remonstrance to the patriarch.[i] He enlarges on the prerogatives conveyed by St. Peter to the Roman see;[k]

[g] See vol. iii. p. 347; Mabillon de Azymo, etc., in Patrol. cxliii.; Schröckh, xxiv. 234; Giesel, II. i. 384.

[h] Wibert, ii. 9.

[i] Ep. 1, Hard. vi. 927-48.

[k] C. 4.

he cites the donation of Constantine, almost in its entire length.[l] St. Paul, he says, had cast no imputation on the faith of the Romans, whereas in his epistles to Greeks he had blamed them for errors in faith as well as in practice. It was from the Greeks that heresies had arisen; some of the patriarch's own predecessors had been not only patrons of heresy but heresiarchs; but by virtue of the Saviour's own promise the faith of St. Peter cannot fail.[m] He blames Michael for having shut up the Latin churches of his city, whereas at Rome the Greeks were allowed the free exercise of their national rites.[n]

After some further communications, Leo in January 1054 despatched three legates to Constantinople—Humbert, Frederick of Lorraine, chancellor of the Roman church, and Peter, archbishop of Amalfi,—with a letter entreating the emperor Constantine Monomachus to join in an alliance against the Normans,[o] and one to Cerularius, in reply to a letter which the patriarch had addressed to Leo. The tone of this answer is moderate, but the pope defends the Latin usages which had been attacked; he adverts to a report that the patriarch had been irregularly raised to his dignity; he censures him for attempting to subjugate the ancient thrones of Alexandria and Antioch; and he expresses disapprobation of the title Universal. It had, he said, been decreed to the bishops of Rome by the council of Chalcedon; but as St. Peter did not bear it, so his successors, to whom, if to any man, it would have been suitable, had never assumed it.[p]

On arriving at Constantinople the legates were received with honour by the emperor, who was anxious to secure the pope's interest, and had been annoyed at the indiscretion of his patriarch. Humbert put forth a dialogue between a champion of the Byzantine and one of the

[l] Cc. 13, 14. [m] Cc. 8-10, 21, 31-32. [n] C. 29.
[o] Ep. vii. [p] Ep. vi.

Roman church, in which the Greek retails the topics of the letter to the bishop of Trani, while the Latin refutes him point by point, and retorts by some charges against the Greeks.[q] To this a Studite monk, Nicetas Pectoratus, replied by a temperately-written tract, which, in addition to points already raised, discussed the enforced celibacy of the western clergy.[r] Humbert rejoined in a style of violent and insolent abuse,[s] and ended by anathematizing Nicetas with all his partisans. But he did not leave the victory to be decided by the pen; the emperor, in company with him and the other envoys, went to the monastery of Studium, where Nicetas was compelled to anathematize his own book, together with all who should deny the prerogatives or impugn the faith of Rome. At the request of the legates Constantine ordered the book to be burnt; and next day the unfortunate author, of his own accord (as we are asked to believe), waited on the legates, retracted his errors, and repeated his anathema against all that had been said, done, or attempted against the Roman church. Humbert's answers to the patriarch and to Nicetas were translated into Greek by the emperor's order.[t]

Michael, however, continued to keep aloof from the Roman envoys, declaring that he could not settle such questions without the other patriarchs. The legates, at length, finding that they could make no impression on him, entered the church of St. Sophia, and laid on the altar, which had been prepared for the celebration of the eucharist, a document in which, after acknowledging the orthodoxy of the people of Constantinople in general, they charged the patriarch and his party with likeness to the most infamous heresies, and

July 16.

[q] 'Adversus Græcorum Calumnias.' Bibl. Patr. xviii. 391.

[r] 'De Azymo, de Sabbato, et de Nuptiis Sacerdotum.' Ib. 405-9.

[s] Ib. 409-15.

[t] 'Commemoratio Brevis.' Hard. vi. 967-8.

solemnly anathematized them with all heretics, "yea, with the devil and his angels, unless they repent."[u] Having left the church, they shook off the dust from their feet, exclaiming, "Let God look and judge!"[x] and, after charging the Latins of Constantinople to avoid the communion of such as should "deny the Latin sacrifice," they set out on their return, with rich presents from the emperor.[y]

A message from Constantinople recalled them, as Michael had professed a wish to confer with them. But it is said that the patriarch intended to excite the multitude against them, and probably to bring about some fatal result, by reading in the cathedral a falsified version of the excommunication.[z] Of this the legates were warned by the emperor, who refused to allow any conference except in his own presence; and, as Michael would not assent, they again departed homewards. The further proceedings between the emperor and the patriarch are variously related by the Greeks and by the Latins. The points of controversy were discussed for some time between Michael, Dominic patriarch of Grado, on the Latin side, and Peter, patriarch of Antioch, who attempted to act as a mediator.[a] A legation was also sent to Con-

[u] Hard. 969. See Ffoulkes' 'Christendom's Divisions,' ii. 41-2. It is to be remembered that this was two months after Leo's death.

[x] Exod. v. 21.

[y] Hard. vi. 968.

[z] This is Humbert's statement. Ib. See Schröckh, xxiv. 225.

[a] These letters may be found in vol. ii. of Cotelerius, 'Monumenta Eccl. Græcæ,' pp. 108, seqq. See too Leo to Peter of Antioch, in Hard. vi. 952. Among other things, Peter discusses the title of patriarch, which he is willing to allow, in some degree, to the bishop of Grado But, he says, as there are five senses, so there are properly but five patriarchs, and among these the title of patriarch is especially given to the bishop of Antioch alone—those of Rome and Alexandria being styled *pope;* those of Constantinople and Jerusalem, *archbishop* (pp. 113-16). In defending the Latins against the charge of eating unclean things, the venerable man gives an interesting hint as to his own tastes—οἷον δὲ ὄψον ἡδὺ, τιμιώτατε δέσποτα, ῥύγχος χοίρειον καὶ ὦτα καὶ κρα ἄποδῶν· ἀλλὰ καὶ φακῆ καὶ κύαμος ἐν στέατι χοιρείῳ ἐψόμενα, κ. τ. λ. p. 152.

stantinople by Stephen IX. (who had been one of the Roman legates); but it returned on hearing of Leo's death, and the breach between the churches remained as before.[b] Cerularius himself was deposed by the emperor Isaac Comnenus in 1059, and ended his days in exile.[c]

A.D. 1057-8.

On the death of Leo, which took place soon after the departure of his legates for the east, the clergy and people of Rome were desirous to bestow the see on Hildebrand, to whose care the dying pope had solemnly committed his church.[d] But Hildebrand was not yet ready to undertake the administration in his own name, and was unwilling to forego the advantage of the emperor's support. He therefore persuaded the Romans to entrust him with a mission for the purpose of requesting that, as no one among themselves was worthy, Henry would appoint a pope acceptable to them; and he suggested Gebhard, bishop of Eichstedt, the same by whom the emperor had been induced to withdraw his troops from Leo's expedition against the Normans. The policy of this choice would seem to have been profound; for whereas Gebhard, as an imperial counsellor, was likely to use his powerful influence against the papacy, he could hardly fail, as pope, to be guided by the interests of his see. Henry, unwilling to lose him, proposed other names; but Hildebrand persisted, and the emperor felt himself unable to oppose the choice of a prelate who had long held the highest place in his own esteem. Gebhard himself made earnest attempts to escape the dignity which was thrust upon him, and is said to have shown his resentment of Hildebrand's share in his promotion by a general dislike of monks during the remainder of his life.[e] But he justified the expecta-

Nov. 1054.

[b] Schröckh, xxiv. 231-4.
[c] Pagi, xvii. 145.
[d] Bonizo, 804.
[e] Chron. Casin. ii. 86.

tion that his policy would change with his position. As a condition of accepting the papacy, he required of the emperor a promise to restore all the rights of St. Peter; and we are told that, whenever he found himself crossed in any of his undertakings, he regarded it as a just punishment for his undutiful opposition to Leo.[f]

In April 1055 the new pope arrived at Rome, where Hildebrand took care that, like his predecessor, he should be formally elected by the clergy and people; and he assumed the name of Victor II.[g] In principle his papacy was a continuation of the last. The system of reforming synods was kept up, but instead of being conducted by the pope in person, they were left to his legates. At one of these synods, which was held in Gaul by Hildebrand, a remarkable incident is said to have taken place. An archbishop, who was charged with simony, had bribed the witnesses to silence, and boldly demanded, "Where are my accusers?" The legate asked him whether he believed the Holy Ghost to be of the same substance with the Father and the Son, and, on his answering that he believed so, desired him to say the doxology. On coming to the name of that Divine Person in whose gifts he had trafficked, the archbishop was unable to proceed. After repeated attempts he fell down before Hildebrand, acknowledging his guilt, and forthwith he recovered the power of pronouncing the whole form. Such a scene would perhaps be now explained by the ascendency of a powerful will, combined with the assumption of a prophetic manner, over a weaker mind disturbed by the consciousness of guilt. But it was then held to be a miracle, and the terror of it led many other bishops and abbots to confess their simony and to resign their dignities.[h]

[f] Chron. Casin. ii. 86; Bonizo, 804; Anon. Haserens. 34 (Pertz, vii.).

[g] Bonizo, 804.

[h] There is much variation in the accounts as to the place, the person of the delinquent, and other circumstances.

In 1056 Victor was invited by the emperor to Germany,[l] where he was received with great honour. But soon after his arrival an illness from which Henry had been suffering became more serious; and on the 5th of October the emperor died in his fortieth year, at the hunting-seat of Bothfeld in the Harz.[k] To the pope, from whom he received the last consolations of religion, he bequeathed the care of his only son, Henry, a child under six years of age;[l] and, although the young prince had already been crowned as his father's colleague and successor in the German kingdom,[m] the good offices of Victor were serviceable in procuring a peaceful recognition of his rights from the princes, prelates, and nobles who had been gathered around the emperor's death-bed.[n] The virtual government of the empire seemed to be now vested in the same hands with the papacy. But the union was soon dissolved by the death of Victor, who, after having returned to Italy and presided over a council at Florence, expired at Acerra on the 28th of July, 1057.[o]

The Romans had felt themselves delivered from restraint by the death of Henry, and now proceeded to show their feeling by not only choosing a pope for themselves, but fixing on a person who was likely to be obnoxious to the German court—Frederick, the brother of duke Godfrey of

See Victor III. Dial. iii. (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 856); P. Damiani, Opusc. xix. c. 4; Bonizo, 806; Paul. Bernr. Vit. Greg. VII. c. 17; W. Malmesb. ii. 444; Card. Aragon. ap. Muratori, iii. 300; Hard. vi. 1040; Salimbene, 150.

[l] In the Annales Romani (Pertz, v. 470) it is said that he went to ask for aid against the "Agarenes" (Saracens, or perhaps rather Normans, to whom that name was sometimes invidiously given. See Gregorov. iv. 111).

[k] Lambert, Ann. 1056. "In jecore cervi mortem comedit." Dodechin, Ann. 1156.

[l] He was born March 11, 1050. Stenzel, i. 153.

[m] Herm. Contr., Ann. 1053, p. 133.

[n] Lambert, Ann. 1056; Schmidt, ii. 264.

[o] Jaffé. He had retained the see of Eichstedt with the papacy. Acta SS Aug. 2, pp. 179, 182. The biographer of Lietbert, bishop of Cambray, says that Victor's object was to complain against the Romans, by whom he had been ill treated "pro causis papatus," c. 42 (Patrol. cxlvi).

Lorraine. Godfrey, after his submission to Henry III., had gone into Italy, and had obtained the hand of the emperor's cousin Beatrice, widow of Boniface, marquis of Tuscany, and mother of the Countess Matilda, who, by the death of her young brother soon after the marriage, became the greatest heiress of the age. The connexion appeared so alarming to Henry, whose rights as suzerain were involved in the disposal of Tuscany, that it led him to cross the Alps in 1055. Beatrice waited on him in order to assure him that her husband had no other wish than to live peaceably on the territory which he had acquired by marriage; but the emperor distrusted his old antagonist, and carried off both Beatrice and her daughter as hostages to Germany, where they were detained until Godfrey succeeded in appeasing him by waiting on him in Franconia, and solemnly promising fidelity.[p] A.D. 1053?

While Godfrey thus raised himself by marriage from the condition of a discredited adventurer to a position of great power, wealth, and influence, his brother was ascending the steps of ecclesiastical promotion. Frederick, a canon of Liége, had accompanied Leo IX. to Rome after the reconciliation of Godfrey with Henry in 1049, and had been appointed chancellor of the holy see. He was a leader in the expedition against the Normans, and was one of the legates who excommunicated the patriarch of Constantinople. The rumour of the wealth which he had brought back from his eastern mission excited the suspicions of Henry; and Frederick, apprehending danger from the emperor, became a monk at Monte Cassino.[q] About two years after his admission into the monastery a vacancy occurred in the headship; when the monks, who claimed the right of electing their superior and presenting

[p] Lambert, Ann. 1053, 1055; Murat. Ann. VI i. 220-4; Floto, i. 181.

[q] Chron. Casin. ii 86; Lambert, Ann 1054.

him for the papal benediction,[r] made choice of one Peter as abbot. Pope Victor, however, was inclined to question their privileges, and sent Cardinal Humbert to inquire on the spot whether any defect could be found in the election. Four monks, supposing that the cardinal came to depose their abbot, raised the neighbouring peasantry to arms; and Peter felt that their unwise zeal had fatally injured his cause. He told them that it was they who had deposed him from a dignity of which he could not otherwise have been deprived; he resigned the abbacy, and the monks, under Humbert's presidency, elected Frederick in his room.[s] At the council of Florence, Frederick was confirmed in his abbacy by the pope, who also created him cardinal of St. Chrysogonus; and he was at Rome, engaged in taking possession of the cure annexed to that title, when he was informed of Victor's death.[t] The Romans, dreading the interference of the neighbouring nobles, took on themselves the choice of a pope, and, in answer to their request that he would name some suitable candidates, Frederick proposed Humbert of Sylva Candida, with three other bishops, and the subdeacon Hildebrand; but the Romans insisted that he should himself be pope, and on August 2, 1057, he was hailed as Stephen IX., taking his name from the saint to whom the day was dedicated, Stephen the antagonist of St. Cyprian.[u]

A.D. 1057.

Stephen was a churchman of the stern and haughty monastic school. His behaviour at Constantinople is significant of his character, and the acts of his short pontificate were consistent with it. Synods were held which passed fresh canons against the marriage of the clergy. Hildebrand's influence continued unabated, it

[r] See Bened. IX. Ep. 4 (Patrol. cxli.).

[s] Chron. Casin. ii. 91-2; Tosti, ii. 209-11.

[t] Chron. Casin. ii. 93-4.

[u] Ib. 94; Höfler, ii. 270.

was probably by Stephen that he was ordained deacon, and was appointed archdeacon of Rome.[x] And by Hildebrand's recommendation[y] Peter Damiani was raised to the bishoprick of Ostia, the second dignity in the Roman church—his distaste for such preferment having been overpowered by a threat of excommunication in case of his refusal.[z]

In addition to the interests of his see, it is supposed that Stephen was intent on advancing those of his own family—that he meditated the expulsion of the Normans from Italy, and the elevation of Godfrey to the imperial dignity. He had retained the abbacy of Monte Cassino, and, with a view to the prosecution of his designs, he ordered that all the treasures of the monastery should be sent to Rome. But when they were displayed before him, and he saw the grief of the provost and other monks who had executed his order, a feeling of compunction seized him; and the provost, observing his emotion, told him that a novice, who knew nothing of the intended transfer, had seen a vision of St. Scholastica weeping over the loss of the precious spoil, while her brother St. Benedict endeavoured to comfort her. The pope burst into tears, and ordered that the treasure should be restored.[a]

Within a few months after his election Stephen felt that his health was failing, and resolved to provide for the future disposal of his offices. At Monte Cassino, where he spent the Christmas season, he procured the election of Desiderius as his successor in the abbacy;[b] and on his return to Rome he exacted an oath that no

[x] So Bonizo says (804); Paul of Bernried refers the preferment to Leo IX. (15); others to Nicolas II, as Watterich, who thinks that the probable date was between August and October 1059 (i. 352). See Bowden, i. 188.

[y] P. Dam. Ep. ii. 8.

[z] Vita P. Dam. 14.

[a] Chron. Casin. ii. 97.

[b] Ib. 94-6.

pope should be chosen without the advice of Hildebrand, who was then engaged in a mission to Germany, probably with a view of conciliating the empress-mother, to whom Stephen must have felt that neither he himself nor the manner of his election could be acceptable.[c] From Rome the pope proceeded to Florence, the capital of his brother's dominions; and there he died in the arms of Gualbert of Vallombrosa, on the 29th of March, 1058.[d]

April 5, 1058.

Immediately on receiving the tidings of Stephen's death, the nobles of the Campagna, headed by Count Gregory of Tusculum, rushed into Rome, seized on St. Peter's by night, plundered the church, and set up as pope John, cardinal-bishop of Velletri, a member of the Crescentian family, under the name of Benedict X.[e] That John's part in this affair was forced on him appears even from a letter of Peter Damiani, who speaks of him as so stupid, ignorant, and slothful, that he could not be supposed to have planned his own elevation.[f] But his reluctance may be more creditably explained. His moral character is unassailed; he was one of the five ecclesiastics whom Stephen IX., before his own promotion, had named to the Romans as worthy of the papacy;[g] and the charges of ignorance and dullness which are brought against him by the almost blind enmity of Damiani may be the less regarded, since the pope of Peter's own party is described by Berengar of Tours as grossly illiterate, and in both cases such charges seem to have been prompted rather by passion than by justice.[h]

[c] Chron. Casin. 98; P. Dam. Ep. iii. 4; Voigt, 39.

[d] Höfler, ii. 285. The Annales Romani (Pertz, v. 470) improbably state that he went to Florence in order to complain to Godfrey against the Romans, who had seized his Byzantine treasures.

[e] Chron. Casin. ii. 99.

[f] Ep. iii. 4 (which the editor Cajetan wrongly refers to the *next* antipope, Cadalous). Comp. Chron. Casin. ii. 99; Annal. Rom. 470.

[g] Ib.

[h] "Nicholaus ille, de cujus inerudi-

The chiefs of the Roman clergy refused to share in the election of Benedict. Damiani would not perform the ceremonies of installation, which belonged to his office as cardinal-bishop of Ostia; and the pope was installed by a priest of that diocese, who was compelled by force to officiate, and whom Peter describes as so ignorant that he could hardly read.[l] The cardinals withdrew from the city, threatening to anathematize the intruder, and envoys were sent by a party at Rome to the empress-mother Agnes, with a request that she would nominate a pope.[k] Hildebrand, in returning from Germany, met these envoys, and suggested to them the name of Gerard, bishop of Florence, a Burgundian by birth, who at their desire was nominated by the empress, while Hildebrand, in order that this nomination might not interfere with the claims which were now advanced in behalf of the Roman church, contrived that he should almost at the same time be elected by the cardinals at Siena.[l] The pope, who took the name of Nicolas II., advanced towards Rome under the escort of Godfrey of Tuscany, whose interest had doubtless been consulted in choosing the bishop of his capital as the successor of his brother in the papacy. At Sutri Nicolas held a council, which condemned and excommunicated Benedict as an intruder. The antipope fled from Rome, but, after the arrival of Nicolas in the city, he returned, and submitted to him, saying that he had acted under compulsion; whereupon he was re-admitted to communion, although degraded from the episcopate and the priesthood, and confined for the remainder of his days within the suburban monastery of St. Agnes.[m] Jan. 1059.

tione et morum indignitate facile mihi erat non insufficienter scribere." Bereng. de S. Cœna, p. 71, ed. Vischer. See below, ch. iii.

[l] Ep. iii. 4.

[k] Lambert, Ann. 1059.

[l] Paul. Bernried. Vita Gregor. 21; Höfler, i. 292.

[m] Bonizo, p. 806; Chron. Casin. iii. 12; Voigt, 42; Gregorov. iv. 119. In

Immediately on gaining possession of the papacy Nicolas found his attention drawn to the affairs of Milan. The Milanese church had long held a very lofty position, and it had gained in reputation by the contrast which it presented to the degraded state of the papacy. The archbishop was a great secular prince, and in the absence of the emperor was the most important person in northern Italy. Heribert had long ruled the church with great vigour; he had maintained his title to the archbishoprick in defiance of Conrad II. and Benedict IX., and had held it in peace after the accession of Henry III., until 1045, when he died, leaving among his flock the reputation of a saint.[n] The clergy of Milan bore a high character in all that related to the administration of their office; there was a proverb—"Milan for clerks, Pavia for pleasures, Rome for buildings, Ravenna for churches."[o] Their learning was above the average of the time; their discipline was strict, their demeanour regular, their services were performed with exemplary decency; they were sedulous in their labours for the education of the young, and in the general discharge of their pastoral duties.[p] The Milanese church differed from the Roman in allowing the marriage of the clergy under certain conditions. St. Ambrose, the great glory of Milan, and the author of its peculiar liturgy, was believed to have sanctioned the single marriage of a priest with a virgin bride;[q] and this had become so

some respects, Benedict has been acknowledged as a pope by the later Roman church. See Gregorov. iv. 100.

[n] Landulf. senior, Hist. Mediol. ii. 32-3 (Pertz, viii.); Milman, ii. 480-6; Luden, viii. 330.

[o] Landulf, iii. 1.

[p] Ib. ii. 35-6; Giesebr. ii. 28-9.

[q] See the speech of a deacon Ambrose (styled Biffus or Biffarius, because he was master of Greek as well as Latin), in Landulf, iii. 24. The passages cited from St. Ambrose in proof of this were unquestioned at the time; but the text is now different (*e.g.*, 'De Officiis Ministrorum,' i. 247). Puricelli, in a dissertation on the subject (ap. Muratori, iv. 121, seqq.), defends the present reading; Dean Milman prefers the older (ii. 486). Theiner (i. 145; ii. 120) is against the

much the rule that an unmarried clergyman was even regarded with suspicion.[r] The same practice was generally observed throughout Lombardy, and the effect of the liberty thus allowed was seen in the superior character of the clergy, which struck even those witnesses who were least able or least willing to connect the effect with its cause.[s] Thus Peter Damiani acknowledged that he had never seen a body of clergy equal to the Milanese,[t] and he also bestows a very high commendation on those of Turin, whose marriage was sanctioned by the bishop, Cunibert.[u]

On the death of Heribert, who, according to some writers, had himself been a married man,[x] the see of Milan was bestowed by Henry III. on Guy of Velate, a clerk of humble birth, to the exclusion of four eminent ecclesiastics whom the Milanese had sent to him for his choice.[y] The new archbishop appears to have been a man of mean and feeble character; he is described as deficient in learning,[z] and he was charged with the practice of habitual simony—a charge which probably meant nothing worse than the exaction of fees from the clergy.[a]

The first movement against the marriage of the Milanese clergy was made by Anselm of Baggio, a priest

idea of St. Ambrose's having sanctioned marriage.

[r] Land. ii. 35.

[s] Giesel. II. i. 323-4.

[t] Arnulf. Hist. Mediol. iii. 14 (Pertz, viii.).

[u] Opusc. xviii. 'Contra Clericos intemperantes.' On the other hand, Andrew, the biographer of Ariald, describes many of the clergy as very secular in their habits. i. 7 (Patrol. cxliii.).

[x] This, however, is much questioned. Zaccaria says that the earliest authority for it is Gualvaneo Fiamma, of much later date (i. 226). Hist. del Celibato Sacro, Rom. 1774, p. 302; cf. Lea on Celibacy, 218.

[y] Murat. Ann. VI. i. 179.

[z] Landulf, iii. 2; Arnulf, iii. 3.

[a] Theiner, ii. 55. Bonizo says that Guy was "illiteratus et concubinatus et absque ulla verecundia simoniacus" (805). Peter Damiani, in the account of his legation to Milan, speaks of it as a settled custom of the church there, that every person ordained to any ministry, from the archbishop downwards, "præfixum prius absque ulla controversia canonem daret." C. 33.

who had been proposed as successor to Heribert in the archbishoprick.[b] On Guy's application to Henry III., Anselm was removed from the scene by promotion to the see of Lucca; but the work which he had begun was soon taken up by others. One of these, Ariald, was a deacon, who is said to have been convicted of some gross offence before the archbishop.[c] He held a cure in his native village, near Como, where he began to denounce the iniquities of clerical marriage, but met with little encouragement from his parishioners, who told him that it was not for ignorant people like themselves to refute him; that he would do better to transfer his preaching to Milan, where he might meet with persons capable of arguing with him.[d] Ariald went accordingly to the city, where his admonitions were unheeded by the clergy, to whom he first addressed himself, but he gained an important ally in Landulf, a man of noble family, and with a great talent for popular oratory,[e] who appears to have been in one of the minor orders of the ministry, and is said to have aspired to the archbishoprick.[f] Anselm, on revisiting Milan, was provoked by the admiration which the clergy of his train expressed for the eloquence of the Milanese;[g] he saw in Ariald and Landulf fit instruments for carrying on the movement which he could himself no longer direct; and he bound them by oath to wage an implacable warfare against the marriage of the clergy.[h]

A.D. 1056.

The two began publicly to inveigh with great bitter-

[b] Höfler, ii. 277.

[c] "De quodam scelere nefandissimo." Landulf, iii. 5.

[d] Syrus, ap. Pertz, viii. 78.

[e] Landulf, iii. 10.

[f] Ib. 5. Bonizo (805) styles him a deacon; others suppose him a layman. See Pertz, viii. 19; Höfler, ii. 276; (Patrol. cxliii. 1443). Landulf and his brothers are said to have been the offspring of an unlawful marriage. Land. iii. 14.

[g] "Certe," he answered, "nisi fœminas haberent omnes hujus urbis sacerdotes et levitæ, in prædicatione et in aliis bonis operibus satis congrue valerent."

[h] Land. iii. v.

ness against the clergy, and their exaggerated representations were received with the greedy credulity which usually waits on all denunciation of abuses. The populace, invited by means of tickets or handbills which were distributed, of little bells which were rung about the streets, and of active female tongues, flocked to the places where the oratory of Landulf and his companion was to be heard;[1] and the reformers continually grew bolder and more unmeasured in their language. They told the people that their pastors were Simoniacs and Nicolaitans,[k] blind leaders of the blind; their sacrifices were dog's dung; their churches, stalls for cattle; their ministry ought to be rejected, their property might be seized and plundered.[l] Such teaching was not without its effect; the mob attacked the clergy in the streets, loaded them with abuse, beat them, drove them from their altars, exacted from them a written promise to forsake their wives, and pillaged their houses. The clergy were supported by the nobles, and Milan was held in constant disquiet by its hostile factions, while the emissaries of Ariald communicated the excitement to the surrounding country.[m] The followers of Ariald and Landulf were known by the name of Patarines—a word of disputed etymology and meaning,[n] which became

[1] Land. iii. 9.

[k] Humbert is the first who uses this term for the married clergy (Cont. Nicetam, c. 25; Giesel. II. i. 328). The "Nicolaitan heresy" was held to consist in justifying clerical marriage. "Vitium quippe in *hæresin* vertitur," says P. Damiani, "cum perversi dogmatis assertione firmatur" (iii. 32). Sismondi, overlooking the scriptural allusion (Rev. ii. 15), supposes the term to have been derived from the name of Nicolas II., "peut-être par antiphrase!" iv. 307.

[l] Arnulf, iii. 11.

[m] Ib. 12; Andreas, Vita S. Arialdi, 28 (Patrol. cxliii.); Land. iii. 10-11; Voigt, 51-2.

[n] The disputes appear to have arisen from a passage of Arnulf (iv. 11)—"Unde Patarinum processit primo vocabulum, non quidem industria sed casu prolatum. Cujus idioma nominis, dum in quodam etymologio nuper plura revolverem, ita scriptum reperio —'*Pathos* Græce, Latine dicitur *perturbatio*.' Unde juxta meæ parvitatis ingeniolum statim conjicio quod *Patarini* possunt *perturbatores* rite nuncupari; quod plane rerum probat

significant of parties opposed to the clergy, whether their opposition were in the interest of the papacy[o] or of sectarianism.

Archbishop Guy, by the advice of Stephen IX., cited Ariald and Landulf before a synod, and, on their scornfully refusing to appear, excommunicated them; but the pope released them from the sentence. Stephen then summoned them to a synod at Rome, where they asserted their cause, but were opposed by a cardinal named Dionysius, who, having been trained in the church of Milan, understood the circumstances of that church, and strongly denounced the violence with which they had proceeded in their attempts at reform. Stephen, although his feeling was on the side of Ariald, affected neutrality between the parties, and sent a commission to Milan; but his short pontificate ended before any result appeared.[p]

effectus. Veruntamen si quando quis probatiori fuerit interpretatus sententia, concedo equidem tota mentis tranquillæ convenientia, dummodo nomen concordet operi, opus vero respondeat nomini." By many writers this has been represented as a derivation which Arnulf not only seriously adopted, but had found annexed to the word *Patarini* in the dictionary which he consulted. It is, however, clear that the dictionary said nothing about *Patarini*. Bonizo says, without hesitation, "*Paterinos*, i. e. *pannosos*, vocabant" (p. 805); and Giulini (quoted by Pertz, viii. 20) says that they were so called from the Rag-fair of Milan—"la contrada de' rivenduglioli di panni vecchi, detti da noi *Patari*." Was Arnulf really in doubt, or did he mean anything more than to amuse himself with the likeness of sound between *Patarini* and the Greek word which he had lighted on? Prof. Floto supposes that, as a man of rank, he was above knowing the real derivation (i. 237). Bonizo goes on—"Et illi quidem dicentes fratri *Racha* rei erant judicio; *rachos* enim Græce, Latine *pannus* dicitur." (!) See Ducange, s. v. *Paterini;* Pagi, xvii. 141; Murat. Antiq. v. 84; Theiner, ii. 59; Neand. vi. 67; C. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Patarener.* The name, like that of the *Gueux* or Beggars in the Low Countries, seems to have been at first given in derision, and then assumed by the party. As used to designate the sectaries of the middle ages, it has been strangely interpreted by etymologists who confine their view to that later use. See the British Magazine, xvi. 601, seqq.

[o] Hugh of Flavigny says that the adherents of Gregory VII. were so called by way of reproach (Pertz, viii. 462). Gieseler thinks that, from having been used to designate the opponents of clerical marriage, the term was extended to signify those who opposed marriage in general, as was usually the case with the sectaries in question. II. ii. 540.

[p] Arnulf, iii. 13; Landulf, iii. 11-13; Voigt, 52.

The intervention of Nicolas II. was now requested by Ariald, and Peter Damiani was sent to Milan as legate, with Anselm, the original author of the troubles, as his colleague.[q] They found the city in violent agitation. The Milanese, roused by the alarm that their ecclesiastical independence was in danger, were now as zealous on the side of the clergy as they had lately been against them. Loud cries were uttered against all aggression; the Roman pontiff, it was said, had no right to force his laws or his jurisdiction on the church of St. Ambrose. Bells pealed from every tower, handbells were rung about the streets, and the clangour of a huge brazen trumpet summoned the people to stand up for their threatened privileges. The legates found themselves besieged in the archbishop's palace by angry crowds; they were told that their lives were in jeopardy; and the popular feeling was excited to frenzy when, on the opening of the synod, Peter Damiani was seen to be seated as president, with his brother legate on his right hand, while the successor of St. Ambrose was on the left.[r] Guy—whether out of real humility, or with the design of inflaming yet further the indignation of his flock[s]—professed himself willing to sit on a stool at the feet of the legates, if required. A terrible uproar ensued, but Peter's courage and eloquence turned the day. Rushing into the pulpit, he addressed the raging multitude, and was able to obtain a hearing. It was not, he said, for the honour of Rome, but for their own good, that he had come among them. He dwelt on the

[q] Hildebrand is said by Arnulf (iii. 14) to have been with them, which is certainly a mistake, as Damiani's report of the proceedings at Milan is addressed to him. Landulf (iii. 13) and Bonizo (805) say that Hildebrand was in the commission sent by *Stephen*; but this too appears not free from difficulty.

[r] P. Dam. Actus Mediolanenses, cc. 31-2 (t. iii.); Vita, 16.

[s] "Dicant id non simplici factum intentione qui volunt," etc., says P. Damiani (c. 32); but he himself acquits the archbishop.

superiority of the Roman church. It was founded by God, whereas all other churches were of human foundation; the church of Milan was a daughter of the Roman, founded by disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Ambrose himself had acknowledged the church of Rome as his mother, had professed to follow it in all things, and had called in pope Siricius to aid him in ejecting that very heresy of the Nicolaitans which was now again rampant. "Search your writings," exclaimed the cardinal, "and if you cannot there find what we say, tax us with falsehood."[t] Since Damiani himself reports his speech, it is to be supposed that he believed these bold assertions; at all events, the confidence and the fluency with which he uttered them, the authority of his position, and his high personal reputation, prevailed with the Milanese. The archbishop and a great body of the clergy forswore simony, bound themselves by oath to labour for the extirpation of it, and on their knees received the sentence of penance for their past offences.[u] The result of the legation was not only the condemnation of the practices which had been complained of, but the subjection of the Milanese church to that of Rome.[x]

In April 1059 Nicolas held a council at Rome, which was attended by a hundred and thirteen prelates,[y] among whom was Guy of Milan. The archbishop was treated with studious respect; he was seated at the pope's right hand, and, on his promising obedience to the apostolic see, Nicolas bestowed on him the ring, which the archbishops of Milan had usually received from the kings of Italy. Ariald stood up to accuse him, but was reduced to silence by Cunibert of Turin and other Lombard

[t] P. Dam. c. 32.
[u] Ib. 33-5.
[x] Arnulf hereupon breaks out—"O insensati Mediolanenses, quis vos fascinavit?" iii. 15.
[y] Hard. vi. 1061, seqq.

bishops.[z] It was enacted that no married or concubinary priest should celebrate mass, and that the laity should not attend the mass of such a priest;[a] that the clergy should embrace the canonical life;[b] that no clerk should take preferment from a layman, whether for money or gratuitously;[c] that no layman should judge a clerk, of whatever order.[d] The council also discussed the case of Berengar, a French ecclesiastic, who was accused of heresy as to the doctrine of the eucharist.[e] But its most important work was the establishment of a new procedure for elections to the papal chair.

The ancient manner of appointing bishops, by the choice of the clergy and people, had been retained at Rome, subject to the imperial control; but the result had not been satisfactory. The nobles and the people were able to overpower the voice of the clergy; to them were to be traced the ignominies and the distractions which had so long prevailed in the Roman church—the disputed elections, the schisms between rival popes, the promotion of scandalously unfit men to the highest office in the hierarchy. It was therefore an object of the reforming party to destroy the aristocratic and popular influences which had produced such evils. Independence of the imperial control, which had of late become an absolute power of nomination, was also desired; but the imperial interest was ably represented in the council by Guibert, the chancellor of Italy, and the Hildebrandine party were for the present obliged to be content with a compromise.[f] It was enacted that the cardinal-bishops should first treat of the election; that they should then call in the cardinals of inferior rank, and that afterwards the rest of the clergy and the people should give their assent to the

[z] Arnulf, iii. 15.
[a] Can. 3.
[b] C. 4.
[c] C. 6.
[d] C. 10.
[e] See below, chap. iii.
[f] Planck, iv. 72-5; Giesel. II. i. 238; Stenzel, i. 200; Bowden, i. 199.

choice. The election was to be made "saving the due honour and reverence of our beloved son Henry, who at present is accounted king and hereafter will, it is hoped, if God permit, be emperor, as we have already granted to him; and of his successors who shall personally have obtained this privilege from the apostolic see."[g]

By this enactment the choice of pope was substantially vested in the cardinals. The term *cardinal* had for many ages been used in the western church to signify one who had full and permanent possession of a benefice, as distinguished from deputies, assistants, temporary holders, or persons limited in the exercise of any rights belonging to the incumbency.[h] But at Rome it had latterly come to bear a new meaning. The cardinal-bishops were the seven bishops of the pope's immediate province, who assisted him in his public functions—the bishop of Ostia being the chief among them;[i] the cardinal-priests were the incumbents of the twenty-eight "cardinal titles" of chief parish churches in the city.[k] By the constitution

[g] Hard. vi. 1065-6; Pertz, Leges, ii. App. 176. On the variation of copies, see Schmidt, ii. 470; Schröckh, xxi. 364-6; Giesel. II. i. 236-8; Luden, viii. 264; Hefele, iv. 757; Reumont, ii. 1186; Giesebr. iii. 44; Cartwright on Conclaves, 11-14.

[h] The Donatist Petilian, at the conference of Carthage in 411 (see vol. ii. p. 134), by way of contrast with the catholic bishops, whom he styles "imagines," describes a bishop of his own sect as "cardinalis atque authenticus" (Collat. Carthag. 165, Patrol. xi.). Gelasius I. (A.D. 492-6) uses "cardinalis pontifex" in the sense of an *ordinary* bishop, as distinguished from a *visitator* (ap. Gratian. Decr. I. xxiv. 3, ib. clxxxviii.). See, on the use of the term, Ducange, s. v. *Cardinalis;* Patrol. cxix. 729; Thomassin, I. ii. 115 L; Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. lxi.; Schröckh, xxi. 366-7; Augusti, xi. 152-6; Giesel. II. i. 235.

In the tenth century, they had been styled *Roman* bishops (Thomass. I. ii. 116. 6). For the history of the cardinalate, see Ciacon. i. 113-20; Onuphr. Panvinius (the biographer of the popes) in Spicileg. Roman. ix. 469, seqq. (Rom. 1843); Planck, IV. i. 76.

[k] Ducange, s. v. *Cardinalis*, p. 175; Schröckh, xxi. 367-9. See Gregorov. i. 266-72; Reumont, ii. 70. Anacletus I is represented in the false Decretals as saying that the Roman see is "*cardo* et caput" (Patrol. cxxx. 78); and Leo IX. says that the cardinals were so styled because "cardini illi, quo cætera moventur, vicinius adhærentes" (Ep. i. ad. Mich. Cerular. c. 32; Hard. vi. 914). A writer of the beginning of the 15th century supposes them to have their name "a cardinibus vel quatuor cardinalibus virtutibus quibus pollere debent; scilicet prudentia,

of Nicolas, the initiative in the election was given to the cardinal-bishops. The other cardinals, however, were to be afterwards consulted, and a degree of influence was allowed to them; while the part of the remaining clergy and of the laity was reduced to a mere acceptance of the person whom the cardinals should nominate.[1] The imperial prerogative is spoken of in words of intentional vagueness, which, without openly contesting it, reserve to the pope the power of limiting or practically annihilating it, as circumstances might allow; and whatever might be its amount, it is represented not as inherent in the office of emperor, but as a grant from the pope, bestowed on Henry out of special favour, and to be personally sought by his successors.[m] The time for venturing on this important innovation was well chosen; for there was no emperor, and the prince for whom the empire was designed was a child under female guardianship, the sovereign of an unruly and distracted kingdom.[n]

In the same year Nicolas proceeded into southern Italy,

temperantia, fortitudine, et justitia." (Aureum Speculum Papæ, in Fascic. Rer. Exp. et. Fug. ii. 96). Ferretti of Vicenza (a very affected writer) says, "quibus cardo januæ cœlestis infigitur" (Murat. ix. 1010). The Greek historian G. Pachymeres supposes them to be themselves called *hinges*, ὧς θύρας οὔσης τοῦ πάπα, κατὰ τὴν Χριστοῦ μίμησιν (S. Joh. x. 7-9) v. 8, p. 25, ed. Rom. 1666. The title, however, was not confined to the clergy of Rome. Thus there were cardinals at Cologne. (Patrol. cxliii. 697.) The council of Basel (A.D. 1431) says—"Tales instituantur qui sicut nomine ita re ipsa cardines sint, super quos ostia universalis versentur et sustententur ecclesiæ" (Hard. viii. 1229).

[1] Although the term *cardinal* was applied to Roman deacons (Ansegis. Capitul. i. 133, Patrol. xcvii.; Ducange, s. voc. p. 175), there were as yet no members of the electoral college below the order of priest; but afterwards, on the complaint of the deacons and lower clergy, that they were excluded, some deacons were added to the body. The steps are uncertain; but it is supposed that the college of cardinals was thus arranged by Alexander III. (Mosheim, ii. 331-4.) The whole number was fifty-three, until Sixtus V., in 1586, fixed it at seventy. (Walter, 290-1.) See lists of the churches from which the cardinals took their *titles* at various times, in Ciacon. i. 117-20.

[m] Murat. Ann. VI. i. 243. Luden (viii. 666-70) tries to show that the decree as it stands would have made no change; and therefore that as a change was made, the present form is interpolated.

[n] Planck. iv. 79.

and held a council at Melfi, with a view to extirpating the Greek usages and habits which prevailed among the clergy of that region—especially the liberty of marriage.[o] But a more important object of his expedition was the settlement of his relations with the Normans, whose most considerable leader was now Robert, styled Guiscard—the Wise, or rather the Crafty[p]—one of the twelve sons of Tancred, a banneret or valvassor of Hauteville in Normandy. Three of Tancred's sons by his first marriage had in 1035 joined their countrymen in Italy, and had been gradually followed by seven half-brothers, the children of their father's second marriage, of whom Robert was the eldest. These adventurers rose to command among the Normans of the south, and formed the design of expelling the Greeks from their remaining territories in Italy.[q] The eldest and the second brothers died without issue; on the death of the third, Humphrey, in 1057, Robert set aside the rights of his nephews, the children of the deceased, and was himself raised aloft on a buckler, and acknowledged as Humphrey's successor. Under this chief, who was distinguished for his lofty stature, his strength and prowess, his ambition, his rapacity, his profound and unscrupulous cunning,[r] the Normans carried on a course of incessant and successful aggression on every side. Their numbers were swelled by large bands from Normandy, while the more spirited among the natives of Apulia and Calabria assumed their name and habits, and were enrolled in their armies.[s]

June 1059.

The Normans had not spared the property of St.

[o] Guil. Appul. ii. 390; Giannone, ii. 222; Theiner, ii. 51.

[p] Gibbon, v. 336.

"Quia calliditatis
Non tantæ Cicero fuit, aut versutus Ulixes."
Guil. Apul. i. 129-30.

[q] Gaufrid. Malaterra, i. 4, 5, 11, ap. Muratori, v.; Giannone, ii. 145-6, 163; Gibbon, v. 335.

[r] Anna Comnena, i. 10.

[s] Gibbon, v. 336-7.

Peter. Guiscard had been excommunicated by Nicolas for refusing to give up the city of Troia, which he had taken from the Greeks, and to which the Roman church laid claim ;[t] but mutual convenience now brought the warrior and the pontiff together. Instead of the schemes which his predecessors had formed for driving the Normans out of Italy, Nicolas conceived the idea of securing them to his alliance. On receiving an application from Guiscard for the withdrawal of his excommunication, he proposed that a conference should take place at the intended synod of Melfi ; and the conference led to the conclusion of a treaty. By this the pope bestowed on Guiscard the investiture of Apulia, Calabria, and such territories in Italy or Sicily as he might in future wrest from the Greeks or the Saracens ; and he conferred on him or confirmed to him the title of duke.[u] At the same time Richard of Aversa, the representative of the earlier Norman settlement, received the title of prince of Capua, a city which he had lately taken from the Lombards.[x] On the other side, "Robert, by the grace of God and of St. Peter, duke of Apulia and Calabria, and, with the help of both, hereafter to be of Sicily," swore to hold his territories as a fief of the Roman see, and to pay an annual quit-rent. He was never to give them up to any of the ultramontanes. He was to be faithful to the holy Roman church and to his lord the pope ; he was to defend him in all things, and to aid him against all men towards establishing the rights of his see. He was to maintain the pope's territories, to subject all the churches within his own dominions to Rome, and, in case of his surviving Nicolas, he was to see that the suc-

July 1059.

[t] Giannone, ii. 217-20.

[u] As to the grant or assumption of this title, see Chron. Casin. iii. 15-16 ; Guil. Appul. ii. 401 ; Giannone, ii. 222-3-7 ; Gibbon, v. 337 ; Schröckh, xx 373 ; Sismondi, Rép. Ital. i. 181.

[x] Chron. Casin. iii. 15.

cessor to the papacy should be legitimately chosen.[y] For both parties this treaty was an important gain. The Normans acquired, far more than by the earlier treaty with Leo IX., an appearance of legitimacy — a religious sanction for their past and for their future conquests. The pope converted them from dangerous neighbours into powerful allies, obtained from them an acknowledgment of his suzerainty,[z] and especially bound them to maintain his late ordinance as to the election of future popes. In fulfilment of their new engagements, the Normans advanced towards Rome, reduced the castles of the nobility of the Campagna,[a] and, having thus established the pope in security, they resumed the career of conquest which had been authorised by his sanction. The acquisition of Sicily, however, which Guiscard, in the enumeration of his titles, had claimed by anticipation, was reserved for another member of his family. While the elder sons of Tancred of Hauteville were pursuing their fortunes in Italy, Roger, the youngest, had remained to watch over his father's decline, until he was released from his duty by the old man's death. He then followed his brethren to the south,[b] where he soon gave proofs of his valour and daring; but he was unkindly treated by Guiscard, and, being left to his own resources, was reduced for a time to find a subsistence by robbing travellers and stealing horses—a fact which was afterwards preserved by the historian of his exploits, at Roger's own desire.[c] The brave and adventurous youth gathered by degrees a band of followers, which became so strong as even to be

[y] The oaths are given by Baron. 1059. 70-1, and by Gieseler, II. i. 239.

[z] See Planck, IV. i. 66-7; Card. de Aragonia de Jurisdictione Ecclesiæ super regnum Apuliæ et Siciliæ, in Baluz. Miscell. i. 468, seqq.

[a] Bonizo, 806. In the Annales Romani (471) is a remarkable story as to the treatment of the antipope Benedict or John of Velletri, who had sought a refuge in the castle of Galeria. See Milman, ii. 473-4. Jaffé, although doubtfully, places the siege of Galeria in March—before the Roman Council.

[b] Malaterra, i. 19.

[c] Ib. 25.

formidable to Guiscard. The brothers were reconciled in 1060, and combined for the siege of Reggio.[d] After the taking of that city Roger carried his arms into Sicily under a banner blessed by Alexander II.[e] His force at first consisted of only sixty soldiers; its usual number was from 150 to 300 horsemen, who joined or left him at their pleasure. Roger was often reduced to great distress, as an instance of which we are told that, when shut up in the city of Traina, he and his countess had but one cloak between them, in which they appeared in public by turns.[f] But his indomitable courage and perseverance triumphed over all difficulties. The Saracens, effeminated by their long enjoyment of Sicily, and weakened by the division of their power, were unable to withstand him, even although aided by their brethren from Africa; and after thirty years of war, Roger was master of the island. He assumed the title of Grand Count, and his family became connected by marriage with the royal houses of Germany, France, and Hungary.[g]

Nicolas, like Leo IX., had offended his own countrymen by the zeal with which he devoted himself to the Italian interest. An opposition to him was formed in Germany, headed by Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, who, in conjunction with other prelates, drew up an act of excommunication and deposition against the pope. Nicolas was already ill when this document reached him; he is said to have read it with a great appearance of grief, and his death followed almost immediately, on the 27th of July, 1061.[h]

Each of the Roman parties now took measures for

[d] Malaterra, i. 29.

[e] Ib. ii. 1.

[f] Ib. 29.

[g] Ib. ii.; iii. 20, 23, 28; Gibbon, v. 341; Sismondi, i. 182-4.

[h] Benzo, vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672. See Floto, i. 241; Hefele, iv. 780; Giesebr. iii. 18-19. Anselm the younger of Lucca says that the Germans were provoked by the pope's having reproved Hanno for his "excesses." Adv Guibert. Antipap. ii. (Patrol. cxlix 463).

securing the succession to the papacy. The nobles and imperialists, under the guidance of Cardinal Hugh the White, who had lately deserted the high ecclesiastical party in disgust at the superior influence of Hildebrand,[i] despatched an embassy to the German court, under Gerard, count of Galeria, who had repeatedly been excommunicated by popes, and had lately incurred a renewal of the sentence for plundering the archbishop of York, with other English prelates and nobles, on their return from a visit to Rome.[k] The ambassadors, who were instructed to offer the patriciate and the empire to the young king, were favourably received; while the envoys of Hildebrand and his friends waited five days without obtaining an audience of Henry or of his mother.[l] Hildebrand, on learning this result, resolved to proceed to an election. By the promise of a large sum, he induced Richard, prince of Capua, to repair to Rome; the cardinals, under the protection of the Norman troops, chose Anselm of Lucca, who assumed the name of Alexander II.; and, after a bloody conflict between the imperialists and the Normans, the pope was enthroned by night in St. Peter's.[m] In this election even the vague privilege which had been reserved by Nicolas to the emperor was set aside, in reliance on the weakness of Henry's minority and on the newly-acquired support of the Normans.[n]

Oct. 1.

The report of these proceedings reached Agnes at Basel, where a diet of princes and prelates was assembled, and among them some representatives of the Lombard bishops, who, under the direction of the chancellor Guibert, had resolved to accept no pope but one from their own province, which they styled "the paradise of

[i] Stenzel, i. 204.

[k] P. Dam. Discept. Synodalis, t. iii. 28; Berthold. A.D. 1061; Collier, i. 527; Murat. VI. i. 253-4.

[l] P. Dam. l. c. 27.

[m] Benzo, vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi., Stenzel, i. 205.

[n] Planck, IV. i. 83; Stenzel, i. 205.

Italy."[o] The tidings of Alexander's election naturally raised great indignation. Henry was acknowledged as patrician of Rome; the late pope's decree as to the manner of papal elections was declared to be null;[p] and, with the concurrence of the Roman envoys, Cadalous or Cadolus, bishop of Parma, was elected as the successor of Nicolas.[q] The imperialist pope, who took the name of Honorius II., was, no doubt, favourable to those views on the subject of clerical marriage which distinguished the Lombard from the Hildebrandine party; but little regard is to be paid to the assertions of his violent opponents, who represent him as a man notoriously and scandalously vicious.[r] Oct. 28.

Honorius advanced towards Rome, where Benzo, bishop of Alba,[s] a bold, crafty, and unscrupulous man, was employed to prepare the minds of the people for his reception. The talents of Benzo as a popular orator, his coarse and exuberant buffoonery, and the money which he was able to dispense, were not without effect on the Romans. On one occasion he had a public encounter with Alexander, whom (as he boasts) he compelled to retire amid the scoffs and curses of the mob.[t] Honorius was received with veneration in many cities. At Tusculum, where he established his camp, he was joined by the count of the place, envoys from the patriarch of Con-

[o] P. Dam. ap. Hard. vi. 1117; Bonizo, 807.

[p] Thus, says Damiani, they annulled the privilege which the decree bestowed on Henry. Disc. Synod. t. iii. 27.

[q] Chron. Casin. iii. 19; Berthold, A.D. 1061; Hard. vi. 1177-8.

[r] Benzo (vii. 2, ap. Pertz, xi. 672) has equally gross stories against Alexander, who is cried up by the Hildebrandists.

[s] See Giesebr. ii. 574. Benzo had been expelled from his see of Alba, on the Tanaro, near Asti (Pertz, xi. 591). His book, 'Ad Henricum IV. Imperatorem,' is a strange medley of Rabelaisian prose and Mapesian verse, animated by bitter religious hatred. He makes as free with sentences of judgment as the zealot of the opposite party, Bonizo. Thus he says of Godfrey of Tuscany—"Descendens in infernum, dominum suum Plutonem salutavit, qui eum secus Judam pro tinus locavit." iii. 10.

[t] Benzo, i. 28; ii. 1-6.

stantinople waited on him, and his troops were successful in an encounter with the small force which was all that the Normans could then spare for the assistance of Alexander.[u] But the appearance of Godfrey of Tuscany, with a formidable army, induced both parties to an accommodation. Cadalous was to retire to Parma, Anselm to Lucca, and the question between them was to be decided by the imperial court, to which Godfrey, who affected the character of a mediator, undertook to represent their claims.[x] Honorius relied on the favour which he already enjoyed; Alexander, on the interest of Godfrey.[y] But at this very time a revolution was effected which gave a new turn to affairs.

April 1062.

The upright and firm administration of the empress-mother was offensive to many powerful persons, who felt it as interfering with their interests; and the princes of Germany, who had been galled by the control of Henry III., especially during the last years of his reign, had conceived hopes of establishing their independence during the nonage of his son.[z] Groundless slanders were spread as to the intimacy of Agnes with Henry, bishop of Augsburg, on whom she chiefly relied for counsel,[a] and a plot was laid to remove the young king, who was now in his twelfth year, from her guardianship. Hanno, archbishop of Cologne, a severe, proud, and ambitious prelate, undertook the execution of the scheme.[b] He caused a vessel to be prepared with extraordinary richness of ornament, and, while at table with

May 1062.

[u] Benzo, ii. 9; Bowden, i. 222.

[x] Benzo, ii. 13-14.

[y] Voigt, 59.

[z] Schmidt, ii. 205; Stenzel, i. 187.

[a] Giesebr. iii. 56, 1087.

[b] Stenzel, i. 193, 214. Hanno, notwithstanding his palpable defects of character, was held in very high esteem by his contemporaries, and was afterwards canonized. See Lambert, Ann. 1075, p. 237; Godefr. S. Pantal. Colon. A.D. 1183 (in Freher, i.); and a Life in Pertz, xi. Cæsarius of Heisterbach styles him "flos et nova lux totius Germaniæ," (Catal. Archiepp. Colon. in Böhmer, Fontes, ii 274). Some letters of Hanno are published in the appendix to Floss's 'Papstwahl unter den Ottonen.'

Henry on an island of the Rhine,[c] he described this vessel in such terms as excited in the boy a wish to see it. No sooner was Henry on board than the rowers struck up the river. The king, suspecting treachery, threw himself overboard, but was rescued from the water by Count Eckhardt, one of the conspirators; his alarm was soothed, and he was landed at Cologne. The people of that city rose in great excitement, but were pacified by the archbishop's assurances that he had not acted from any private motives, but for the good of the state; and, by way of proving his sincerity, Hanno published a decree that the administration of government and justice should be vested in the archbishop of that province in which the king should for the time be resident.[d]

Hanno had thus far supported the Lombard pope, but he now found it expedient to make common cause with the Hildebrandine party; indeed it is probable that his late enterprise had been known beforehand to Godfrey of Tuscany, if not to Hildebrand and the other ecclesiastical leaders.[e] Peter Damiani, who had already, by letters written with his usual vehemence, urged Henry to put down the antipope,[f] and Cadalous himself to retire

[c] See Floto, i. 201. The island had its name from St. Suidbert (see above, iii. 62), who founded a monastery on it. (Beda, v. 11; Rettberg, ii. 423.) By changes in the course of the river it has become united to the mainland, and is now the site of Kaiserswerth. Giesebr. iii. 81.

[d] Lambert, Ann. 1062; Voigt, 63-4.

[e] Benzo, ii. 15; Planck, IV. i. 90-1; Milman, ii. 496.

[f] Ep. iii. 3. As a specimen of Peter's style, the description of Cadalous may be quoted—"Veterrimus ille draco, perturbator ecclesiæ, eversor apostolicæ disciplinæ, inimicus salutis humanæ, radix peccati, præco diaboli, apostolus antichristi, et—quid plura dicam?"—[a very natural question, which, however, the cardinal abundantly answers]—"sagitta producta de pharetrâ Satanæ, virga Assur, filius Belial, filius perditionis qui adversatur et extollitur super omne quod dicitur Deus aut quod colitur, vorago libidinis, naufragium castitatis, Christianitatis opprobrium, ignominia sacerdotum, genimen viperarum, fœtor orbis, spurcitia sæculi, dedecus universitatis, serpens lubricus, coluber tortuosus, stercus hominum, latrina criminum, sentina vitiorum, abominatio cœli, projectio paradisi, pabulum tartari, stipula ignis æterni, qui audacter provocat in bella Cœlestem, et dicit insipiens in corde suo 'Non est Deus'" (p. 111). The vagueness of all this abuse is remarkable.

from the contest,[g] now addressed Hanno in a strain of warm congratulation—comparing the abduction of Henry to the good priest Jehoiada's act in rescuing the young Joash from Athaliah, and exhorting the archbishop to take measures for obtaining a synodical declaration against Cadalous.[h] Guibert, the chief supporter of the imperial interest in Italy, was deprived of his chancellorship;[i] and in October 1062 a synod was held at Osbor,[k] where Peter appeared, and presented an argument for Alexander in the form of a dialogue between an "Advocate of the Royal Power" and a "Defender of the Roman Church."[l] The Roman champion, as might be expected, is fortunate in his opponent. The advocate of royalty, ill acquainted with the grounds of his cause, and wonderfully open to conviction, is driven from one position after another. His assertion that popes had always been chosen by princes is confuted by an overwhelming array of instances to the contrary.[m] The donation of Constantine is triumphantly cited.[n] The royalist then takes refuge in the reservation which the late pope's decree had made of the imperial prerogative; but he is told that, as the Almighty sometimes leaves His promises unfulfilled because men fail in the performance of their part, so the grant made by Nicolas to Henry need not be always observed; that the privileges allowed to the king are not invaded, if during his childhood the Roman church—his better and spiritual mother—exercise a guardian care like that which his natural mother exerts in the political administration of his kingdom.[o]

[g] Ep. i. 20.

[h] Ib. 6.

[i] Bonizo, pp. 806, 808.

[k] This name is generally supposed to be an Italian corruption of *Augsburg* (Schröckh, xxi. 538; Stenzel, i. 220; Wattenbach, n. on Chron. Casin. iii. 19, ap. Pertz, vii.; Hefele, iv. 790; Giesebr. iii. 90). Luden denies the reality of the synod (viii. 684-7). Against him, see Voigt, 76. Comp. Mansi, n. in Nat. Alex. xiii. 494.

[l] Opusc. iv. t. iii. 21, seqq., or Hard vi. 119, seqq. See Hefele, iv. 790.

[m] P. 22.

[n] P. 23.

[o] Pp. 23-4. Bp. Hefele (iv. 787-8)

The pamphlet was read before the synod, which acknowledged Alexander as pope, and excommunicated his rival. It was the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude, the anniversary of the antipope's election; and a prediction which Damiani had confidently uttered, that, if he should persist in his claims, he would die within the year,[p] was proved to be ridiculously false. The prophet, however, was not a man to be readily abashed, and professed to see the fulfilment of his words in the excommunication—the spiritual death—of Cadalous.[q]

Peter had by this time withdrawn from the eminent position to which Stephen IX. had promoted him. His reforming zeal had been painfully checked by the supineness of those with whom he was associated. His brother cardinals, to whom he addressed an admonitory treatise on their duties,[r] continued to live as if it had never been written. His attempts to stimulate pope Nicolas to a thorough purification of the church were but imperfectly successful, although he cited Phineas as a model, and Eli as a warning.[s] Moreover, in his simple monkish earnestness for a religious and moral reformation, he was unable to enter into Hildebrand's deeper and more politic schemes for the aggrandisement of the hierarchy; he felt that Hildebrand employed him as a tool, and he was dissatisfied with the part.[t] He had therefore repeatedly entreated Nicolas to release him from his bishoprick, on the plea of age, and of inability to discharge his duties.[u] The pope refused his consent, and Hildebrand, unwilling to lose

shows from this dialogue that Nicolas did not, as some have supposed, recall the privilege allowed to the German sovereign by his decree of 1059 as to the choice of popes.

[p] "Non ego te fallo, cœpto morieris in anno." *Ep.* i. 20, *ad Cadal.*

[q] P. Dam. Opusc. XVIII. ii. 8.

[r] Ep. ii. 1. Dante represents Peter Damiani in Paradise as rebuking the pride of later cardinals. Parad. xxi. fin.

[s] Opusc. xvii., "De Cœlibatu Clericorum," t. iii. 165-7.

[t] Stenzel, i. 280.

[u] Opusc. xix. "De Abdicatione Episcopatus."

the services of a man so useful to his party, told the cardinal that he was attempting under false pretences to escape from duty; but Peter persisted in his suit, and in the first year of Alexander's pontificate[x] he was allowed to retire to his hermitage of Fonte Avellano. There he spent part of his time in humble manual works; among his verses are some which he sent to the pope with a gift of wooden spoons manufactured by himself.[y] But he continued to exercise great influence by his writings; he was consulted by multitudes as an oracle;[z] and from time to time he left his wilderness, at the pope's request, to undertake important legations. The empress-mother Agnes, after the death of bishop Henry of Augsburg, placed herself under the direction of Damiani; and, having been brought by him to repent of her policy towards the church, she submitted to penance at the hands of Alexander, and became a nun in the Roman convent of St. Petronilla.[a]

Hanno and his associates had loudly censured Agnes for the manner in which she educated her son; but when they had got the young king into their own hands, his education was utterly neglected. No care was taken to instruct him in the duties of a sovereign or of a Christian man. His talents, which were naturally strong, and his amiable dispositions were uncultivated; the unsteadiness

[x] Pagi, xvii. 192.

[y] Carm. 183-5, t. iv. p. 21.

[z] See Ep. i. 15, p. 11, where he complains that, although no longer a bishop, he has still to bear the burden of the episcopal office. Among the questions proposed to him was one by Alexander —Why popes were short-lived, seldom exceeding four or five years in the see? The answer was a tract, 'De Brevitate Vitæ Romanorum Pontificum' (Opusc. xxiii.), which was presented to Alexander as he returned from the council of Mantua. The reason is, according to Damiani, that, since the chief of men is thus short-lived, all men should be warned to prepare for death. That secular princes often live long, is because there are many of them, and the death of one is not felt beyond his own dominions. But the pope, being sole universal bishop of the church, is like the sun, whose eclipse overcasts all nations (c. 1).

[a] Baron. 1062. 86, seqq.; P. Dam. Epp. vii. 5-8; Opusc. lvi.; Floto, i. 293.

of character which was his chief defect was unchecked; no restraint was opposed to his will; he was encouraged to waste his time and his energies in trifling or degrading occupations—in hunting, gaming, and premature indulgence of the passions.[b] Hanno, finding that he himself was distasteful to Henry, both on account of the artifice by which he had obtained possession of the king's person and because of his severe and imperious manners,[c] called in the aid of Adalbert, archbishop of Bremen and Hamburg. The character of this prelate has been very fully depicted by the historian of northern Christianity, Adam, who, as a canon of his church, had ample opportunities of knowing him. Adalbert was a man of many splendid qualities. His person was eminently handsome; he was distinguished for eloquence and for learning; his morals, by a rare exception to the character of the age, were unimpeached; his devotion was such that he wept at the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice.[d] He had laboured with zeal and success for the spreading of the gospel among the northern nations—extending his care even to the Orkneys and to Iceland.[e] He had conceived the idea of exalting Bremen to the dignity of a patriarchate,[f] and it was a desire to promote the interest of his see which first led him to frequent the imperial court. He

[b] Bruno de Bello Saxonico, ap. Pertz, v. 331-4; Schmidt, ii. 205, 273; Voigt, 65. "Infeliciter vixit," says the Saxon annalist. "quia sicut voluit vixit." Pertz, vi. 697.

[c] Lambert, Ann. 1063, p. 166; Stenzel, i. 217.

[d] Adam. Brem. iii. 1; Lambert, Ann. 1072, p. 189.

[e] See Adam, iii. 11, seqq., and the additions at the end of book iii. pp. 364-7. His description of the Orkneys, as situated between Norway, Britain, and Ireland (Descr. Insul. 34), seems to include the Hebrides. These Orkneys, he says, had been before governed by English and Scottish bishops, but Adalbert consecrated Turolf for them, as bishop of Blascona—a place which the editors do not pretend to identify (ib.). For the Norwegian connexion with the Orkneys and Western Isles, see Keith's 'Catalogue of Scottish Bishops,' ed. 1, pp. 130, 175; Grub, c. xvii.

[f] Ad. Brem. iii. 2. He obtained privileges for his see from Clement II. (Ep. 4), Leo IX. (Ep. 77), and Victor II. (Ep. 5). Patrol. cxlii.-iii.

acquired the confidence of Henry III., whom he attended into Italy in 1046; it is said that the emperor even wished to bestow the papacy on him, and that Suidger of Bamberg, who had been a deacon of the church of Hamburg,[g] was preferred by Adalbert's own desire.[h] The hope of erecting a northern patriarchate ended with the death of the archbishop's patrons, Henry and Leo IX., and from that time he devoted himself to political ambition.[i] The faults of his character became more and more developed.[k] His pride, vanity, ostentation, and prodigality were extravagantly displayed. His kindness and his anger were alike immoderate. The wealth which he had before spent on ecclesiastical buildings was now lavished on castles;[l] he maintained a numerous and costly force of soldiers; and to meet the expenses of his secular grandeur he oppressed the tenants of his church and sold its precious ornaments.[m] He entertained a host of parasites,—artists, players, quacksalvers, minstrels, and jugglers; one was a baptized Jew, who professed the science of alchemy; others flattered their patron with tales of visions and revelations, which promised him power, long life, and the exaltation of his church. While engaged in the society of these familiars, the archbishop would refuse an audience to persons who wished to see him on the gravest matters of business; sometimes he spent the night in playing at dice, and slept throughout the day.[n] His eagerness to extend the possessions of his see, and to render it independent of lay control, involved him in many quarrels with neighbouring nobles;[o] and his favourite table-talk consisted of sarcasms on these powerful enemies—the stupidity of one, the greed of

[g] Münter, ii. 82.
[h] Ad. Brem. iii. 7, 30.
[i] Ib. 33.
[k] Ib. 35, 39.
[l] Ib. 9, 10, 36.
[m] Ib. 45.
[n] Ib. 35-38; Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 330-1; Stenzel, i. 234.
[o] Ad. Brem. iii. 5.

another, the boorishness of a third.[p] At the same time he was proud of his own descent from the counts palatine of Saxony; he spoke with contempt of his predecessors in the archbishoprick as a low-born set of men,[q] and even claimed kindred, through the family of the Othos, with the emperors of the east.[r] To the poor his behaviour was gentle and condescending; he would often wash the feet of thirty beggars; but to his equals he was haughty and assuming.[s]

The young king was won by the fascination of Adalbert's society, and after a time Hanno found it expedient to admit his brother archbishop to a share in the administration.[t] The misgovernment of these prelates was scandalous. Intent exclusively on their own interest and on that of their partisans, they appropriated or gave away estates belonging to the crown, while they used the royal name to sanction their plunder of other property. The wealth of monasteries, in particular, was pillaged without mercy. To Hanno his rapacity appeared to be justified by the application of the spoil to religious uses; Adalbert was rapacious in order to obtain the means of maintaining his splendour. Hanno, a man of obscure birth,[u] practised the most shameless nepotism in the bestowal of ecclesiastical dignities, while Adalbert disdained such expedients for enriching his kindred.[x] The sale of church preferment was openly carried on; a historian of the time tells us that money was the only way to promotion.[y] The feuds and insubordination of the nobles became more uncontrollable; nor were ecclesiastics slow to imitate their example. Thus, in consequence of a question as to precedence between the bishop of Hildesheim and the

[p] Ad. Brem. iii. 39.
[q] Ib. 68.
[r] Ib. 31.
[s] Ib. 2.
[t] Ad. Brem. iii. 23; Lambert, Ann. 1063, p. 162.
[u] Floto, i. 196, 285.
[x] Adam. iii. 34; Lambert, p. 167; Stenzel, i. 222, 233.
[y] Lambert, p. 166.

abbot of Fulda, a violent affray took place between their retainers in the church of Goslar, at Christmas 1062, and the quarrel was renewed with still greater fury at the following Whitsuntide, when the king's presence was no more regarded than the holiness of the place. Henry was even in personal danger, and many were slain on both sides. The great monastery of St. Boniface was long disturbed by the consequences of these scenes, and was impoverished by the penalties imposed on it for the share which its monks had taken in them.[z]

Adalbert gradually supplanted Hanno. At Easter 1065, he carried Henry to Worms, where the young king, then aged fifteen, was girt with the sword, and was declared to be of age to carry on the government for himself. Thus the regency of Hanno ceased, while Adalbert, as the minister of Henry, for a time enjoyed undivided power.[a] Under his administration the state of things became continually worse. Simony was more shamelessly practised than ever; the pillage of monasteries was carried on without measure; for the archbishop taught the young king to regard monks as merely his stewards and bailiffs.[b] Adalbert's private quarrels were turned into affairs of state, and he took advantage of his position to inspire Henry with a dislike of the Saxons and others who had offended him. The discontent of his enemies and of those who suffered from his misgovernment rose at length to a height, and at a diet which was held at Tribur, in January 1066, Henry was peremptorily desired by a powerful party of princes and prelates to choose between the resignation of his crown and the dismissal of the archbishop of Bremen. Adalbert was compelled to make a hasty flight; he was required to give up almost the whole revenue of his see to his enemies; and his lands

[z] Lambert, Ann. 1065, p. 168; Stenzel, i. 236-7.

[a] Lambert, pp. 164-5; Voigt, 65-71.

[b] Lambert, p. 167.

were plundered, so that he was reduced to support himself by appropriating religious and charitable endowments, and by oppressive exactions which are said to have driven some of the victims to madness and many to beggary.[c] Hanno resumed the government. His rapacity and nepotism were unabated, but sometimes met with successful resistance. A nephew named Conrad, whom he had nominated to the archbishoprick of Treves, was seized by the people, who were indignant at the denial of their elective rights; the unfortunate man was thrice thrown from a rock, and, as he still lived, was despatched with a sword.[d] And an aggression on the property of the monks of Malmedy was defeated by the miraculous power of their patron St. Remaclus.[e]

The antipope Honorius had made a fresh attempt on Rome in 1063, when he gained possession of the Leonine city, and was enthroned in St. Peter's; but many of his partisans deserted him as his money decreased, the Romans rose against him, and, after much fighting with a Norman force which Hildebrand had called in to oppose him, he was compelled to shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, under the protection of Cencius,[f] a disorderly noble who had made himself master of the place. For two years he held out in the fortress; but his condition became more and more hopeless. It was in vain that he implored the assistance of Henry and Adalbert; and at length he felt himself obliged to withdraw, paying three hundred pounds of silver for the consent of Cencius to his departure.[g] Hanno, after the recovery of his power,

[c] Adam. Brem. 48, 57; Stenzel, i. 241.

[d] Berthold. Ann. 1066 (Pertz, v.); Vita Conradi, in Append. to Gesta Trev. (ib. viii.), where the writer argues that Conrad was "a Deo electus," because "a sancto viro Annone divinitus inspirato promotus." c. 3.

[e] Triumphus S. Remacli de Malmundariensi Cœnobio, ap. Pertz, xi. 438, seqq.; Lambert, Ann. 1071, p. 183.

[f] As to Cencius, see Gregorovius, iv. 152. His name is a short form of Crescentius. Ib. iii. 409.

[g] Benzo, ii. 16; Bonizo, p. 807; Voigt, 92-6; Bowden, i. 214.

proceeded into Italy with a view of putting an end to the schism.[h] At Rome he held a synod, where Alexander appeared. The archbishop asked him how he had ventured to occupy the apostolical chair without the sovereign's permission; whereupon Hildebrand stood forward as the champion of his party, and maintained that the election of the pope had been regularly conducted—that no layman had any right to control the disposal of the holy see.[i] Hanno was disposed to be easily satisfied, and adjourned the consideration of the case to a synod which was to be held at Mantua in Whitsun-week. At this synod Alexander presided, and defended all his acts. Honorius, who had retired to his bishoprick of Parma, refused to attend, unless he might be allowed to sit as president, and attempted, at the head of an armed force, to disturb the sessions of the council. But the attempt was put down by Godfrey of Tuscany, Alexander was formally acknowledged as pope, and in that character he was escorted by Godfrey to Rome.[k] The antipope held possession of Parma until his death, but, although he continued to maintain his pretensions to the papacy, he made no further active attempts to enforce them.[l]

A.D. 1067.

The pacification effected by Peter Damiani at Milan had too much the nature of a surprise to be lasting. The promulgation of the decrees against the marriage of the

[h] The date of this expedition is placed by some in 1064; by Jaffé, although doubtfully, as early as 1063; and by Mansi as late as 1071 or the following year (n. in Natal. Alexand. xiii. 496). I had followed Pagi (xvii. 256), Stenzel (Beilage viii.), Voigt (97), and Bowden (i. 254), before the publication of Bp. Hefele's fourth volume, in which there is a strong argument for 1064 (793-7). See too Watterich, i. 262; Giesebr. iii. 1096. Hanno appears to have been in Italy both in that year and in 1067. As to the later expedition, see Hefele, 810, for an account of an important letter discovered by Floss.

[i] Lambert, Ann. 1064; Bonizo, p. 808.

[k] Ib.; Benzo, iii. 27-9.

[l] Lamb. Ann. 1064; Schröckh, xxii. 386-8.

clergy which were enacted by the Roman synod of 1059[m] became the signal for great commotions in northern Italy. Many bishops refused to publish them; the bishop of Brescia, on attempting to do so, was almost torn to pieces by his clergy.[n] And in Milan itself disorders soon broke out again.

Landulf died,[o] but his place as an agitator was taken by his brother Herlembald. The new leader had been a valiant soldier; his views as to the marriage of the clergy had been bitterly influenced by finding that his affianced bride had been guilty of levity with a clerk.[p] On this discovery he broke A.D. 1061. off the match, went on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and at his return would have become a monk, but that Ariald persuaded him to continue in secular life, and to serve the church by defending it. The character of Herlembald was bold, violent, and resolute; he was possessed of a fiery eloquence, and was devoted to his cause with the narrow, reckless, and intolerant zeal which not uncommonly marks the religious partisanship of men trained to martial professions. He now accompanied Ariald to Rome, where Alexander received them as old friends, and bestowed on Herlembald a consecrated banner, charging him to unfurl it against heresy.[q] On returning to Milan, the two began a fresh course of aggression against the married and concubinary clergy. They excited the multitude by their addresses; they won the poor by large distributions of money, and the young

[m] See p. 255.

[n] Bonizo, p. 807.

[o] Arnulf, iii. 16, who says that he had lost his voice two years before his death, "ut in quo multos affecerat, in eo quoque deficeret." Comp. Andreas, 35 (Patrol. cxliii.). The chronicler Landulf, however, represents his namesake as having continued to act with Ariald and Herlembald, and as having died when they set up Atto as archbishop in preference to himself. iii. 29.

[p] "Cum clerico quodam jocasse." Landulf, iii. 14. Luden (ix. 34) and Floto (i. 273) understand this to mean that she was seduced. For the meanings of *jocare* see Ducange.

[q] Arnulf, iii. 17; Landulf, iii. 15; Andreas, ap. Pertz, vii. 21.

by the skilful use of flattery. A company of youths was formed, sworn to extirpate concubinage among the clergy, and with it was joined a rabble composed of low artisans and labourers, of men rendered desperate by want of employment, and of ruffians attracted by the hope of plunder.[r] Some Manichæans, or adherents of the Monteforte heresy,[s] are also mentioned as associates in the cause.[t] For eighteen years Herlembald exercised a tyrannic power in Milan. Yet the populace was not entirely with him; for while he and Ariald, in their enthusiasm for Roman usages, went so far as to disparage the Milanese ritual, they furnished their opponents with a powerful cry in behalf of the honour of St. Ambrose.[u] The reformers were very unscrupulous as to the means of carrying out their plans; Herlembald, when in want of money, proclaimed that any priest who could not swear that he had strictly kept the vow of continence since his ordination should lose all his property; and on this his adherents conveyed female attire by stealth into the houses of some of the clergy, where the discovery of it exposed the victims of the trick to confiscation, plunder, and outrage.[x] The streets of Milan were continually disquieted by affrays between the hostile parties. Peter Damiani by his correspondence stimulated the reformers, and Gualbert of Vallombrosa sent some of his monks to aid them.[y] The persecuted clergy, on the other hand, found allies in many Lombard bishops, who urged them to leave the city, and offered them hospitable entertainment.[z] It is said that even Ariald was at one time touched by remorse, and expressed penitence on seeing the misery, and the destitution of religious ordinances, which had arisen from his agitation.[a]

[r] Landulf, iii. 15, 21; Theiner, ii. 117.
[s] See p. 123.
[t] Landulf, iii. 19.
[u] Arn. iii. 17.
[x] Land. iii. 21.
[y] Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ix. c. 58; Andreas, 109-10.
[z] Land. iii. 16.
[a] Ib. 20.

A conference was held, at which a priest named Andrew especially distinguished himself by pleading for the marriage of the clergy. He rested the warrant for it on Scripture and on ancient usage, and spoke forcibly of the worse evils which had resulted from a denial of the liberty to marry.[b] It was said that St. Ambrose had sanctioned the marriage of the clergy; that, by representing continency as a special gift of grace, he implied that it was something which ought not to be exacted of all. Arialdo replied that marriage had been allowed in the times when babes required to be fed with milk, but that all things were now new. The conference was broken off by an attack of the mob on the clergy.[c] The discomfited party alleged that miracles were wrought among them in behalf of clerical marriage, but their stories produced no effect.[d]

In 1066, Herlembald, leaving Arialdo to keep up the excitement of the Milanese, went again to Rome, and before a synod accused archbishop Guy of simony.[e] The pope was unwilling to proceed to extremities, but Hildebrand persuaded him to pronounce a sentence of excommunication, which was conveyed to Milan by Herlembald. On Whitsunday the archbishop ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, holding the document in his hand. He inveighed against Herlembald and Arialdo as the authors of the troubles which had so long afflicted the city. He complained of their behaviour towards himself, and concluded his speech by desiring that all who loved St. Ambrose would leave the church. Out of a congregation of seven thousand, all withdrew except the two agitators

[b] Land. iii. 26. Among other things, he alleged a late discovery of children's bones in a cistern (p. 92). See above, p. 164.

[c] Land. iii. 22-7.

[d] Ib. 28.

[e] Arnulf, 19. Perhaps a fresh excommunication had been uttered against Arialdo by Guy. Comp. Arnulf, iii. 13 with Landulf, iii. 16, and the notes in Pertz.

and about twelve of their adherents. These were attacked by the younger clergy, with some lay partisans of the archbishop. Ariald was nearly killed; Herlembald fought desperately, and cut his way out of the church. The Patarines, on hearing of this, rose in the belief that Ariald was dead, and their numbers were swollen by a multitude of peasants from the neighbourhood, who had repaired to Milan for the festival; they stormed the cathedral and the archiepiscopal palace, dragged the archbishop out, handled him roughly, and left him hardly alive. Next day, when the peasantry had left the city, the nobles and clergy resolved to take vengeance for these outrages. Ariald fled in disguise, pursued by two clerks with a party of soldiers, while the archbishop laid an interdict on the city until he should be found. The unfortunate man was betrayed by a companion into the hands of a niece of the archbishop named Oliva, who directed five of her servants to conduct him to an island in the Lago Maggiore. On arriving there, his guards asked him whether he acknowledged Guy as archbishop of Milan. "He is not," said Ariald, "nor ever was, for no archbishop-like work is or ever was in him." The servants then set on him, cut off his members one by one, with words of savage mockery, and at length put an end to his life, and threw his body into the lake. Some months after the murder, the corpse was found, and Herlembald compelled the archbishop to give it up; it was carried in triumph to Milan, and miracles were reported to be performed by it. By these scenes the exasperation of Herlembald and his party was rendered more intense than ever.[g]

June 27, 1066.[f]

In the following spring, the pope visited Milan, on his

[f] Acta SS., Jun. 27, p. 251.

[g] Bonizo, 808; Andreas, 58-79 (Patrol. cxliii.); Voigt, 101; Theiner, ii. 122-3; Milman, ii. 509. Landulf says that the body honoured as Ariald's was really that of a woman. iii. 30.

way to the council of Mantua, where he made some regulations as to discipline, and canonized Ariald as a martyr.[h] Two Roman cardinals were soon afterwards sent as legates to Milan. They entered on their commission in a temperate and conciliatory spirit. Aug. 1, 1067. It was decreed that the clergy should separate from their wives or concubines; that such of them as should persist in defying this order should be deprived of their office; but that no one should be deprived except on confession or conviction, and that the laity should not take the punishment of offending clergymen into their own hands.[i] These orders, however, had little effect. Herlembald, dissatisfied with the moderation of the commissioners, again went to Rome, where Hildebrand joined him in maintaining the necessity of appointing a new archbishop instead of Guy, whose title they declared to be invalid, as being derived from the imperial nomination.[k]

Guy himself at length became weary of his uneasy dignity. He expressed a wish to resign, A.D. 1069. and sent his ring and crosier to the king, with a request (which is said to have been supported by money[l]) that a deacon named Godfrey might be appointed as his successor; but, although Henry accepted the recommendation, and nominated Godfrey to the see, the Milanese refused to receive him. Nor were Herlembald's party able to establish a young ecclesiastic named Atto, whom they set up as a rival archbishop; on the day of his consecration he was driven from the city, after having been compelled to forswear his pretensions. The church was in a state of utter confusion. Hildebrand declared the oath extorted from Atto to be null, and

[h] Landulf junior, ap. Mabillon, Anecta, 487 (Paris, 1723); cf. Alex. Epp. 93-4 (Patrol. cxlvi.); Acta SS. Jun. 27.

[i] Hard. vi. 1081-6.

[k] Arnulf, iii. 21.

[l] Bonizo. 807.

procured a like declaration from the pope.[m] Godfrey was excommunicated by Alexander, and was persecuted by Herlembald, who, by intercepting the revenues of the archbishoprick, rendered him unable to pay a stipulated pension to Guy; and the old man, in distress and discontent, allowed himself to be decoyed into a reconciliation with Herlembald. He was allowed to retain the title of archbishop, but was kept as a virtual prisoner in a monastery, while Herlembald wielded the ecclesiastical as well as the secular power in Milan.[n] Guy died in 1071, but the troubles of his church were not ended by his death.

While these scenes were in progress at Milan, disturbances of a similar kind took place at Florence, where John Gualbert and the monks of Vallombrosa publicly accused the bishop, Peter, of simony, and declared the ministrations of simoniac and married clergy to be invalid.[o] After much contention and some bloodshed,[p] they proposed to decide the question by ordeal. The bishop refused to abide such a trial, and the pope, who had been appealed to, discouraged it; but a monk named Peter undertook to prove the charge. Two piles of wood were erected, ten feet in length, and with a narrow passage between them. The monk celebrated the eucharist, and proceeded to the place of trial, clothed in the sacerdotal vestments. After praying that, if his charge against the bishop of Florence were just, he might escape unhurt, he entered between the burning

A.D. 1068.[q]

[m] Arnulf, iii. 22, 25, iv. 2; Landulf sen. iii. 18; Bonizo, 810.

[n] Ib. 809; Arnulf, iii. 22.

[o] Berthold. Ann. 1067 (Pertz, v.); Atto, Vita S. Joh. Gualb. cc. 10, 60, seqq. (Mabill. ix.); Andreas, 81, seqq. (Patrol. cxlvi.); Baron. 1063, 1-60. Against those who refused to communicate with the bishop on account of the charge of simony, Peter Damiani wrote Opusc. xxx. "De Sacramentis per improbos administratis."

[p] The biographers of Gualbert charge the bishop with attempting to get rid of his enemies by sending soldiers to burn them in a monastery. Andreas, 83; Atto, 60.

[q] Mansi in Baron. xvii. 238.

piles, barefooted and carrying the cross in his hands. For a time he was hidden by flames and smoke; but he reappeared uninjured, and was hailed by the spectators with admiration and triumph.[r] The bishop, a man of mild character, yielded to the popular clamour by withdrawing from Florence; but he retained his office until his death, and the diocese was administered in his name by a deputy.[s] The zeal of the monk Peter, who acquired the name of "the Fiery,"[t] was rewarded by promotion to high dignity in the church. Under Gregory VII. he became cardinal-bishop of Albano, and was employed as legate in Germany.[u]

Henry III. had chosen as a wife for his son, Bertha, daughter of the marquis of Susa, whose powerful interest in Italy he hoped to secure by the connexion.[x] The princess was beautiful, and, as appeared in the varied trials of her life, her character was noble and affectionate; but the young king, from unwillingness to forsake his irregularities, was reluctant to fulfil the engagement. After recovering from an illness which his physicians supposed to be desperate, he was persuaded by the entreaties of his nobles to marry Bertha in 1066; but regarding her as forced on him by his enemies, he felt a repugnance towards her, and three years later he formed a design of repudiating her.[y] With a view to this, he endeavoured to secure the interest of Siegfried, archbishop of Mentz, by a promise of aiding him in enforcing the payment of

[r] Atto, 64; Victor III. Dial. iii. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 855, where it is said that he dropped a handkerchief in his passage, and went back to recover it. There is a curious note on ordeals in Tosti, Storia della Contessa Matilde, 90.

[s] See Theiner, ii. 109-11. Some monastic historians represent the matter differently.

[t] "Petrus Igneus." See Ciacon. i. 863-6.

[u] Bernold. ap. Pertz, v. 436.

[x] Luden, viii. 290.

[y] Voigt, 111-12; Giesebr. iii. 133. Bruno (De Bello Saxonico, 7, ap. Pertz, v.) says that he endeavoured to entrap her into adultery with one of his courtiers. That the story is incredible, see Stenzel, ii. 62-3.

tithes from Thuringia to his see, and Siegfried willingly listened to the inducement.[z] He wrote to the pope on behalf of the divorce, although in a tone which showed that he was somewhat ashamed of his part; he had (he said) threatened the king with excommunication unless some definite reason were given for his desire of a separation.[a] Peter Damiani was once more sent into Germany, and assembled a synod at Mentz, from which city, at Henry's summons, it was transferred to Frankfort. After a discussion of the matter, the legate earnestly entreated Henry to desist from his purpose, for the sake of his own reputation, if he were indifferent to the laws of God and man. He told him that it was an accursed project, unworthy alike of a Christian and of a king; that it was monstrous for one whose duty bound him to punish misdeeds, to give so flagrant an example; that the pope would never consent to the divorce, nor ever crown him as emperor if he persisted in urging it. The king submitted, although unwillingly, and soon resumed his licentious habits.[b] But the character of Bertha gradually won his affection, and, so long as she lived, her fidelity supported him in his troubles.[c]

About this time Adalbert, after a banishment of three years from the court, recovered his position, and for a time conducted the government with absolute power.[d] He resumed his ambitious project of erecting his see into a patriarchate.[e] The evils of his former administration were renewed, and even exceeded. Ecclesiastical preferments were put up to open sale in the court; and it is

[z] Lambert, Ann. 1069, p. 174. The part of Thuringia which was immediately subject to Mentz had been exempt ever since the conversion of the people, while another part paid tithes to the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld. Siegfried claimed all. Luden, viii. 412.

[a] Hard. vi. 1164. See Ranke, in Abhandlungen der Berliner Academie, 1854, p. 443; Giesebr. iii. 1106.

[b] Lambert, Ann. 1069, pp. 175-6.

[c] Stenzel, i. 258.

[d] Adam. Brem. iii. 58; Lambert, Ann. 1072.

[e] Adam, iii. 58.

said that a general disgust was excited by the sight of the shameless traffic in which monks engaged, and of the hoarded wealth which they produced, to be expended in simoniacal purchases.[f] Feuds, intrigues, discontent, abounded. The writer to whom we are indebted for the fullest account of Adalbert's career describes his last years with a mixture of sorrow and awe—dwelling fondly on his noble gifts, relating his errors with honest candour, and lamenting his melancholy perversion and decline. It seemed as if the archbishop's mind were disordered by the vicissitudes through which he had passed. His days were spent in sleep, his nights in waking. His irritability became intolerable; to those who provoked him he spoke with an indecent violence of language; or he struck them, and sometimes so as even to draw blood. He showed no mercy to the poor; he plundered religious and charitable foundations, while he was lavish in his gifts to the rich, and to the parasites whose flatteries and prophecies obtained an ever-increasing mastery over him. Yet his eloquence was still unabated, and gave plausibility to his wildest extravagances and to his most unwarrantable acts.[g] His nearest relations believed him to be under the influence of magic, while he was himself suspected by the vulgar of unhallowed arts—a charge for the falsehood of which the historian solemnly appeals to the Saviour and to all the saints.[h] His health began to fail; a woman, who professed to be inspired, foretold that he would die within two years unless he amended his life; but he was buoyed

[f] Lamb. Ann. 1071, p. 189.

[g] Adam, 61.

[h] Ib. 62. Such charges were common in those times. Benno says that Hildebrand practised magic, having derived his art from Gerbert, through Benedict IX. (ap. Goldast. Apol. pro Henr. IV. 11). And of Henry IV. we are told by the Saxon Annalist and by the annalist of Pölde—"Ferebatur imaginem quandam ad instar [mensuram *Annal. Palith.*] digiti, ex Ægypto adlatam, adorare; a quâ quoties responsa [oracula, *A. P.*] quærebat, necesse erat homicidium [Christianum immolare, *A. P.*] aut in summo festo adulterium procurare." Pertz, vi. 697; xvi. 70.

up by the assurances of other prophets, that he would live to put all his enemies under his feet, and almost to the last he relied on these assurances in opposition to the warnings of his physicians.[1] Omens of evil were observed at Bremen: crucifixes wept, swine and dogs boldly profaned the churches, wolves mingled their dismal howlings with the hooting of owls around the city, while the pagans of the neighbourhood burnt and laid waste Hamburg, and overran Nordalbingia. The archbishop gradually sank. It was in vain that the highest dignitaries of the church sought admittance to his chamber; he was ashamed to be seen in his decay. The king alone was allowed to enter; and to him Adalbert, after reminding him of his long service, committed the protection of the church of Bremen. On the 16th of March 1072 the archbishop expired at Goslar—unlike Wolsey, with whom he has been compared,[k] in the recovery of his power, and in the retention of it to the last; but, like Wolsey, lamenting the waste of his life on objects of which he had too late learnt to understand the vanity. His treasury, into which, by rightful and by wrongful means, such vast wealth had been gathered, was found to be entirely empty; his books and some relics of saints were all that he left behind him.[l]

On the death of Adalbert, Henry, in deference to the solicitations of his nobles and to the cries of his people, requested Hanno to resume the government. The archbishop reluctantly consented, and, although his rapacity and sternness excited complaints, the benefits of his vigorous administration speedily appeared. Nobles were compelled to raze their castles, which had been the strongholds of tyranny and insubordination; justice was done without respect of persons; it seemed, according to the

[1] Adam, iii. 63-4.

[k] By Sir James Stephen, in his Essay on Hildebrand.

[l] Adam, iii. 63-7.

best annalist of the age, as if for a time the minister had infused into the indolent young king the activity and the virtues of his father.[m] But Hanno was weary of his position, and under the pretext of age and infirmity, resigned it at the end of nine months; when Henry, feeling (according to Lambert's expression) as if he were delivered from a severe schoolmaster, plunged into a reckless career of dissipation and misgovernment.[n] He neglected public business; violences were committed against nobles, the property of churches and monasteries was bestowed on worthless favourites, the hills of Saxony and Thuringia were crowned with fortresses intended to coerce the inhabitants, and the garrisons indulged without restraint their love of plunder and destruction, their insolence and their lust.[o] In Thuringia, the prosecution of Siegfried's claim to tithes was used as a pretext for the military occupation of the country; it had been agreed that the king was to enforce the claim by arms, on condition of sharing in the spoil. Siegfried, by a letter in which he plainly hinted a bribe, endeavoured to draw Hildebrand into his interest.[p] In March 1073 a synod met at Erfurt, in the king's presence, for the consideration of the question; when the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld appeared in opposition to the archbishop. The Thuringians made an appeal to the pope, but Henry threatened ruin and death against any one who should attempt to prosecute it; and when the synod agreed on a compromise unfavourable to the Thuringians, he forbade the abbots to report the result to Rome.[q] Henry had incurred the general detestation of his sub-

A.D. 1062. Christmas.

[m] Lambert, Ann. 1072, pp. 189-90. This writer, whose Annals end in 1077, did not give Henry credit for the qualities which he afterwards displayed.

[n] Id. Ann. 1073, p. 192; Voigt, 138, 146.

[o] Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 192; Voigt, 113-32; Stenzel, i. 276.

[p] Hard. vi. 1194.

[q] Lamb. Ann. 1073, p. 193; Hard. vi. 1191.

jects, which was swollen by exaggerated and fabulous tales of his misconduct;[r] the Saxons, the Thuringians, and the Swabians, exasperated by the wrongs which they had suffered and by the dread of further evils, were ready to break out into rebellion.[s]

The cries of Germany at length reached Alexander, who summoned the archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, with the bishop of Bamberg, to Rome, and reproved them for their slackness in discouraging simony. Hanno was gently treated, and was presented with some precious relics; Siegfried's offer of a resignation was declined; Otho of Bamberg confessed his guilt, but it is said that he appeased the papal anger by valuable gifts, and he received the honour of the pall.[t] The greatest prelates of Germany were at the pope's feet; the two metropolitans of England had just been compelled to appear before him—Lanfranc of Canterbury, that he might personally receive the pall which he had in vain endeavoured to obtain without such appearance; and Thomas of York, that he might refer to the successor of St. Peter and of St. Gregory a question as to the English primacy.[u] By these triumphs over national churches, Alexander was encouraged to enter on a contest with the chief representative of the secular power. In October 1072, he had held a conference at Lucca with Beatrice and her daughter Matilda on the means of reforming their royal kinsman; and, as it was agreed that gentle

[r] See Floto, c. 58.

[s] Voigt, 152-3.

[t] Lamb. Ann. 1070 (which is too early a date); Voigt, 153; Giesebr. iii. 151-3, 1107. That Bamberg, although only a bishoprick, usually had the pall, see p. 133. Otho was involved in serious troubles under Gregory VII., and was at last compelled to retire into a cloister. At an inquiry into his conduct, in the presence of the pope's legates, a young clerk insolently placed before him a short verse of a psalm. "If," he said, "you will explain this verse to me correctly, not according to its mystical or allegorical meaning, but in the literal sense of the words, I will allow that you are clear from all charges, and are worthy of your bishoprick." Lamb. Ann. 1075, p. 221.

[u] See hereafter, c. v.

measures would be ineffectual, he proceeded, at a synod in the following Lent, to excommunicate five counsellors who were charged with exerting an evil influence over Henry, and summoned the king himself to make satisfaction to the church for simony and other offences. Hanno and the bishop of Bamberg, who were on the point of returning home, were charged with the delivery of the mandate; but on the 21st of April 1073, Alexander died, and it remained unanswered and unenforced.[x]

Peter Damiani had died in the preceding year, on his return from a mission to Ravenna, where he had been employed in releasing his fellow-citizens from the excommunication brought on them by their late archbishop, as a partisan of the antipope Cadalous.[y]

CHAPTER II.

GREGORY VII.

A.D. 1073-1085.

HILDEBRAND was now to assume in his own person the majesty and the responsibility of the power which he had so long directed.[a]

[x] Ekkehard, A.D. 1073; Bonizo, l. vi. fin. It has been supposed (as by Voigt, 158-9; Bowden, i. 306-7) that Alexander went so far as to summon Henry to Rome, — a step without example in earlier times. But the statement is said to rest only on a misconstruction of Ekkehard's words —"litteras Alexandri apostolici, regem *vocantes ad satisfactionem.*" Floto, ii. 8.

[y] Vita, 21; Pagi, xvii. 344. Comp. Ep. i. 14.

[a] His mastery over the late popes had been the subject of epigrams by Peter Damiani:—

"Vivere vis Romæ? clara depromito voce—
Plus domino Papæ quam Domno pareo Papæ."

Carm. 149 (*Patrol.* cxlv.).

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro
Tu facis hunc dominum, te facit iste Deum."

Carm. 295 (*ib.*).

Benzo repeatedly says that he fed Nicolas II. "velut asinum in stabulo" iii. 10; v. 1; vii. 2). Arnulf of

At the death of Alexander II., Rome, by a fortune rare on such occasions, was undisturbed by the rage of its factions.[b] Hildebrand, as chancellor of the see, ordered a fast of three days, with a view to obtaining the Divine guidance in the choice of a pope. But next day, while the funeral rites of Alexander were in pro-

April 22, 1073. gress, a loud outcry arose from the clergy and the people, demanding Hildebrand as his successor. The chancellor ascended the pulpit, and attempted to allay the uproar by representing that the time for an election was not yet come;[c] but the cries still continued. Hugh the White then stood forth as spokesman of the cardinals, and, after a warm panegyric on Hildebrand's services to the church, declared that on him the election would fall, if no worthier could be found. The cardinals retired for a short time, and, on their reappearance, presented Hildebrand to the multitude, by whom he was hailed with acclamations.[d]

The name which the new pope assumed—Gregory the Seventh—naturally carried back men's thoughts to the last Gregory who had occupied St. Peter's chair.[e] By choosing this name, Hildebrand did not merely testify his personal attachment to the memory of his master and patron; it was a declaration that he regarded him as a legitimate pope, and was resolved to vindicate the principles of which Gregory VI. had been the representative and the confessor against the imperial power by which he had been deposed.

Milan intimates that the popes were afraid of him (iv. 2). Benno, with his usual outrageousness, says (ap. Brown, Fascic. Rer. Exp., etc., i. 85) that he beat Alexander, and kept him on an allowance of five *solidi* a day, while he himself grew immensely rich on the spoils of the papacy.

[b] Greg. Epp. i. 1-4.

[c] Boniface III. had decreed, in 607, that nothing should be done for the election of a pope or of a bishop until after the see had been three days vacant. Anast. ap. Murat. iii. 135.

[d] Bonizo, 811; Hard. vi. 1195. The scene seems to have taken place in the church of St. Peter *ad Vincula*. Pet. Pisan. in Watterich, i. 293; Hefele, v. 2.

[e] Baron. 1073. 25.

At the outset, however, Hildebrand did not wish prematurely to provoke that power. The proceedings which Alexander had commenced against Henry were allowed to drop; and, although the pope at once took on himself the full administration of his office,[f] he sent notice of his election to the king, and waited for the royal confirmation of it. The German bishops, who knew that his influence had long governed the papacy, and dreaded his imperious character and his reforming tendencies, represented the dangers which might be expected from him; and, in consequence of their representations, two commissioners were despatched to Rome, with orders to compel Hildebrand to resign, if any irregularity could be found in his election. The pope received them with honour; he stated that the papacy had been forced on him by a tumult, against his own desire, and that he had deferred his consecration until the choice should be approved by the king and princes of Germany. The commissioners reported to Henry that no informality could be discovered, and on St. Peter's day 1073 Hildebrand was consecrated as the successor of the apostle.[g] It was the last time that the imperial confirmation was sought for an election to the papacy.

In the letters which he wrote on his elevation, Hildebrand expresses a strong reluctance to undertake the

[f] Voigt, 184.

[g] Lambert, p. 194 (who, however, wrongly puts the consecration on the Purification in the following year); Bonizo, 811; Planck, IV. i. 100-3, 113-15. A story told by Bonizo (811), and more distinctly by the cardinal of Aragon, two centuries later (Muratori, iii. 304), that Hildebrand begged Henry not to confirm his election, because, if pope, he must feel himself obliged to correct the king's vices, is generally rejected, as inconsistent with his letters of the time. (See Schröckh, xxv. 432; Voigt, 169; Luden, viii. 703; Bowden, i. 319; Milman, ii. 515). Ranke (Abhandl. d. Berliner Acad., A.D. 1854, p. 446), followed by Giesebrecht (iii. 241, 1118) and Floto (ii. 6-8), throws doubts on the fact of the royal confirmation, and thinks that Lambert, in his monkish partiality or credulity, has given Gregory credit on this occasion for "a moderation and humility which were far from him." On the other side see Hefele, v. 3-6.

burden of the dignity which had been thrust on him;[h] and his professions have been often regarded as insincere. But this seems to be an injustice. Passionately devoted as he was to the cause which he had espoused, he may yet have preferred that his exertions for it should be carried on under the names of other men; he had so long wielded in reality the power which was nominally exercised by Leo, Victor, Stephen, Nicolas, and Alexander, that he may have wished to keep up the same system to the end. If he had desired to be pope, why did he not take means to secure his election on some earlier vacancy? Why should we suppose that his promotion as the successor of Alexander was contrived by himself, rather than that it was the natural effect of the impression which his character and his labours had produced on the minds of the Roman clergy and people? And even if he thought that matters had reached a condition in which no one but himself, acting with the title as well as with the power of pope, could fitly guide the policy of the church, why should we not believe that he felt a real unwillingness to undertake an office so onerous and so full of peril? His letters to princes and other great personages might indeed be suspected; but one which he addressed in January 1075 to his ancient friend and superior, Hugh of Cluny,[i] seems to breathe the unfeigned feeling of his heart. Like the first pope of his name, and in terms partly borrowed from him,[k] he laments the unhappy state of ecclesiastical affairs. The eastern church is failing from the faith, and is a prey to the Saracens. Westward, southward, northward, there is hardly a bishop to be seen, but such as have got their office by unlawful means, or are blameable in their lives, and devoted to worldly ambition; while among secular princes there is

[h] Epp. i. 1, seqq., 70.
[i] Ep. ii. 49.
[k] See above, vol. ii. p. 369.

no one who prefers God's honour and righteousness to the advantages of this world. Those among whom he lives—Romans, Lombards, and Normans—are worse than Jews or pagans. He had often prayed God either to take him from the world or to make him the means of benefit to His church; the hope that he may be the instrument of gracious designs is all that keeps him at Rome or in life.

But, whatever his private feelings may have been, Hildebrand, when raised to the papacy, entered on the prosecution of his schemes with increased energy. The corruptions of the church, which he traced to its connexion with the state, had led him to desire its independence; and it now appeared that under the name of independence he understood sovereign domination. In the beginning of his pontificate, he spoke of the spiritual and the secular powers as being like the two eyes in the human body,[1] and therefore apparently on an equality; but afterwards they are compared to the sun and the moon respectively[m]—a comparison more distinctly insisted on by Innocent III.,[n] and which gives a great superiority to the priesthood, so that Gregory founds on it a claim to control "after God" the actions of kings; and still later (as we shall see hereafter),[o] his statements as to the power of temporal sovereigns became of a far more depreciatory character. And, as he brought out with a

[1] Ep. i. 19.

[m] Ib. vii. 25, ad Willelm. Angliæ Regem: "Qua tamen majoritatis et minoritatis distantia religio sic se movet Christiana, ut cura et dispensatione apostolicâ dignitas post Deum gubernetur regia." This is the reading of the Vatican MS., as given by Giesebrecht, 'De Greg. VII. Registro emendando' (Brunsv. 1850), and in Jaffé's edition of Gregory's letters (vol. ii. of the 'Bibliotheca Rerum Germanicarum,' published since the second edition of this volume). The common reading is "apostolicæ dignitatis."

[n] Patrol. ccxvi. 1035, 1184, 1186; Greg. IX. Decret. l. I. tit. xxxiii. c. 6. See Schmidt, iii. 308, and Gieseler, II. ii. 109, who quote a commentator as saying, "Papam esse millies septingenties quadragies quater imperatore et regibus sublimiorem." See hereafter, Book VII. c. viii. sect. 1.

[o] Pp. 316, 340.

new boldness the claims of the church against the state, it was equally his policy to assert a despotic power for the papacy against the rest of the church,[p] while all his aggressive acts or claims were grounded on pretexts of ancient and established right.[q] The principles of his system are embodied in a set of propositions known as his "Dictate,"[r] which, although probably not drawn up by himself, contains nothing but what may be paralleled either from his writings or from his actions.[s] These maxims are far in advance of the forged decretals. It is laid down that the Roman pontiff alone is universal bishop; that his name is the only one of its kind in the world.[t] To him alone it belongs to depose or to reconcile bishops; and he may depose them in their absence, and without the concurrence of a synod.[u] He alone is entitled to frame new laws for the church—to divide, unite, or translate bishopricks.[x] He alone may use the ensigns of empire; all princes are bound to kiss his feet; he has the right to depose emperors, and to

[p] Gieseler, II. i. 5.

[q] Luden, viii. 541.

[r] Hard. vi. 1304.

[s] "Being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him extant" (Barrow, 17). Baronius, who sees nothing wrong in them, considers them genuine, and refers them to the council of 1076, at which Henry IV. was excommunicated (1076 31). Some Gallican writers (as Pagi, xvii. 454; Nat. Alex. xiii. Dissert. 3) have argued that they are not only spurious, but are an enemy's misrepresentation of Gregory; but this view (although Mr. Bowden inclines to it, ii. 51) is generally regarded as a device suggested by the position of those writers (see Mosheim, ii. 336; Schröckh, xxv. 520; Planck, IV. i. 165; Voigt, 388), and Prof. Giesebrecht (p. 5) remarks that it is confuted by the occurrence of the Dictate as the work of Gregory in a Vatican MS. Dupin contents himself with saying that, if not by an enemy, they are the work of an "entêté" partisan (viii. 69). Gieseler observes as to their form that they look like the headings of a set of canons passed at some synod under Gregory (II. ii. 7, 8). See too Fleury, lxiii. 12; Hefele, v. 67. Giesebrecht thinks that they are Gregory's own, and points out that he had asked Peter Damiani to draw up such a summary of the papal privileges—which Peter neglected to do. (P. Dam., Actus Mediolan., Patrol. cxlvi. 89). iii. 270, 1121.

[t] Cc. 2, 11. See Giesel. II. ii. 1. The meaning is supposed to be that no other is to be styled pope. Gavanti, i. 241, ed. Augsburg, 1763.

[u] Cc. 3, 5.

[x] Cc. 7, 13.

absolve subjects from their allegiance.[y] His power supersedes the diocesan authority of bishops.[z] He may revise all judgments, and from his sentence there is no appeal.[a] All appeals to him must be respected, and to him the greater causes of every church must be referred.[b] With his leave, inferiors may accuse their superiors.[c] No council may be styled general without his command.[d] The Roman church never has erred, and, as Scripture testifies, never will err.[e] The pope is above all judgment, and by the merits of St. Peter is undoubtedly rendered holy.[f] The church, according to Gregory, was not to be the handmaid of princes, but their mistress; if she had received from God power to bind and to loose in heaven, much more must she have a like power over earthly things.[g] His idea of the papacy combined something of the ancient Jewish theocracy with the imperial traditions of Rome.[h]

Gregory boldly asserted that kingdoms were held as fiefs under St. Peter.[i] From France he claims tribute as an ancient right; he says that Charlemagne acted as the pope's collector, and bestowed Saxony on the apostle.[k] He declares that Spain had of old belonged to St. Peter, although the memory of the connexion had been obscured during the Mahometan occupation; and on this ground he grants to the count of Roucy (near Reims) all that he may be able to regain from the Arabs, to be held

[y] Cc. 8, 9, 12, 27.
[z] Cc. 14, 15.
[a] C. 18.
[b] Cc. 20, 21.
[c] C. 24. This infringement on the privileges secured to bishops by the forged decretals (see vol. iii. p. 321, and compare Peter Damiani, above, p. 218) was intended to bring bishops more under the control of the papacy. Schmidt, ii. 297, 298.
[d] C. 16.
[e] C. 22.
[f] Cc. 19, 23.
[g] Ep. iv. 2; Hard. vi. 1346.
[h] Neand. vii. 112.
[i] It is remarkable that he never appeals to the donation of Constantine (Döllinger, Päpstfabeln, 78, 84). Was this because he doubted its genuineness, or because he scorned the idea of obligation to the emperor as a foundation of his claims to temporal power?
[k] Ep. viii. 23

under the apostolic see.[l] To Solomon, king of Hungary he writes that that kingdom had been given by the holy Stephen to St. Peter; he rebukes him for taking investiture from the king of Germany, tells him that therefore his reign will not be long, and in writing to the next king, Geisa, he traces Solomon's fall to this unworthy submission.[m] He makes similar claims to Bohemia,[n] to Denmark,[o] to Poland,[p] to Provence, Corsica, Sardinia, England,[q] and Ireland.[r] By conferring the title of king on the duke of Dalmatia, he binds him to be the vassal of the holy see;[s] where he does not pretend an ancient right, he offers to princes—even to the sovereign of Russia among them—a new and better title from St. Peter;[t] and in the event it was found that the hope of a title which professed to consecrate possession, to heal all irregularities, and to silence all questions as to the mode of acquisition, was the most powerful means of inducing princes to submit to the pretensions of Rome.[u] The sternness of Gregory's resolution to carry out his principles was expressed by the frequent citation of a text from Jeremiah—"Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from blood."[x] But in his dealings with princes he showed nothing of that fanaticism which disregards persons and circumstances. He could temporize with the strong, while he bent all his force against the weak.

[l] Epp. i. 7; iv. 28. Mariana is more Spanish than papal as to this (vi. 39, edd Sabau y Blanco). See Baron. 1073. 36, as to the expeditions of French adventurers in Spain; and as to count Ebolus of Roucy, see Suger. Vit. Ludov. Grossi, 5 (Patrol. clxxxvi.).

[m] Epp. ii. 13, 63, 70.

[n] Ib. 7.

[o] Ib. 51, 75.

[p] Ib. 73.

[q] See below, ch. v.

[r] If the letter in Ussher's 'Sylloge' (Works, vol iv.) be genuine. See hereafter, ch. xi. sect. 6.

[s] See Ep. vii. 4.

[t] Epp. ii. 74; ix. 3 (for Bavaria).

[u] See Gregorov. iv. 168.

[x] Jer. xlviii. 10. But his explanations render the words less alarming: "Hoc est, qui verbum prædicationis a carnalium hominum retinet increpatione" (Ep. ii. 5); "*i.e.* verbum prædicationis a carnalium vitæ interfectione" (iii. 4); "verbum correctionis a prave viventium increpatione" (iv. 1); "qui doctrinam subtrahit ab occisione carnalis vitæ" (vii. 23).

He was careful to strike where his blows might be most effective.

Philip I. of France had succeeded his father at the age of seven, and, with a natural character far inferior to that of Henry IV., had grown up in a like freedom from wholesome restraint, and in a like want of moral training.[y] Gregory, soon after his election, addressed a letter to the king, censuring the disorders of his government;[z] and Philip answered by promising amendment, but took little pains to fulfil his promise. On this the pope wrote to some French bishops and nobles, in terms of the severest denunciation against their sovereign. Philip, he said, was not a king but a tyrant—a greedy wolf, an enemy of God and man. By the persuasion of the devil he had reached the height of iniquity in the sale of ecclesiastical preferments; he paid no regard to either divine or human laws; a loose was given to perjury, adultery, sacrilege, and all manner of vices, and the king not only encouraged these but set the example of them. Nay, not content with this, he even robbed foreign merchants who visited his dominions —an outrage unheard of among the very pagans. The bishops were charged to remonstrate, and were assured that their obligations of fealty bound them not to overlook the sovereign's misdeeds, but to reprove them; the kingdom must not be ruined by "one most abandoned man."[a] Gregory told Philip himself that France had sunk into degradation and contempt; he threatened to excommunicate and interdict him, to withdraw the obedience of his subjects, to leave nothing undone in order to wrest the kingdom from him, unless he repented.[b] Oct. 1060.

Yet all this led to no result. Philip was too indolent

[y] Sismondi, iv. 381.
[z] Ep. i. 35.
[a] Epp. i. 35; ii. 5.
[b] Ib. i. 36, 56; ii. 16, 32.

to enter into a direct conflict with the pope; he allowed the Roman legates to hold synods and to exercise discipline in his dominions; but he grudged the diminution of his revenues by their proceedings, and, when he found that they especially interfered with his patronage or profit in the appointment or deposition of bishops and abbots, he opposed them with a sullen and dogged resistance.[c] Gregory repeatedly wrote to him, admonished him, and expressed hopes of his amendment.[d] No amendment followed; but the pope was too deeply engaged in other business, and too much dreaded the spirit of the French nation—in which the nobles were gradually rallying round the throne, while the church was more united than that of Germany—to take any steps for the correction of the king.[e]

While Gregory spared Philip, and while (as we shall see hereafter)[f] he dreaded William of England and Normandy, his most vigorous efforts were employed against the king of Germany, the heir of the imperial dignity. If he could humble the highest and proudest of crowns, the victory would tell on all other sovereigns; and the papacy, in such strength as it had never before possessed, was measured against the empire in its weakness.

Germany was now in a miserable state of distraction. The young king had given much just cause of discontent, while his subjects were not disposed to limit their demands within the bounds of reason. The garrisons of the Saxon and Thuringian fortresses excited by their outrages the violent indignation of the people, and the complaints which were addressed to Henry against them were received with scorn and mockery.[g] Sometimes he refused

[c] Sismondi, iv. 440, 442, 459.
[d] *E.g.*, Ep. viii. 20.
[e] Sismondi, iv. 474; Voigt, 162, 291-3.
[f] Ch. v.
[g] Lambert, pp. 194, 196, 231-4. Against Lambert's representation of Henry as given up to indolence and pleasure, see Giesebr. iii. 170.

to see the deputies who were sent to him;[h] it is said that on one occasion, when some envoys waited on him at Goslar by his own appointment, they were detained in his ante-chamber all day, while he amused himself by playing at dice, and at length were told that he had retired by another way.[i] It was believed that the king intended to reduce the Saxons to slavery, and to seize on their country for his own domain. The whole population rose in frenzy; a confederacy was formed which included the primate Siegfried, with the abbots of Fulda and Hersfeld; and a leader was found in Otho of Nordheim. Both among princes and among prelates many were ready to disguise their selfish ambition under the cloak of patriotism and religion; and loud cries were raised for a new king.[k] The exasperation of the Saxons was yet further increased when Henry endeavoured to engage the barbarians of the north—Poles, Luticians, and Danes—to take up arms against them.

Gregory in the beginning of his pontificate wrote to Godfrey of Tuscany[l] and to other relations of Henry, entreating them to use their influence for the king's amendment. Henry, feeling the difficulties of his position, and not suspecting the extent of the great scheme for the exaltation of the papacy at the cost of the empire, addressed the pope in a tone of deference; he regretted his own past misconduct—his encouragement of simony, his negligence in punishing offenders; he owned himself unworthy to be called the son of the church, and requested Gregory to aid him in appeasing the distractions of Milan, where a new claimant, Tedald, nominated by the king at the request of the citizens, who disowned

[h] Lambert, 224.

[i] Bruno de Bello Saxon. ap. Pertz, v. 336. This is placed on St. Peter's day 1073, the day of Gregory's consecration. But the bitterness of Bruno's enmity against Henry renders the story very questionable. See Luden, viii. 707; Floto, i. 363.

[k] Lambert, Ann. 1073, p. 204.

[l] Ep. i. 9.

both Godfrey and Atto,[m] was now engaged in a contest for the archbishoprick with Atto and the faction of Herlembald.[n]

The troubles of Germany increased. In March 1074 an agreement was extorted from Henry that the hated fortresses should be destroyed. The great castle of the Harz was at once that in which the king took an especial pride, and which was most obnoxious to his people. It included a church, which, although built of wood, was splendidly adorned; a college of monks was attached to the church, and in its vaults reposed the bodies of the king's brother and infant son. Henry dismantled the fortifications, in the hope of saving the rest; but the infuriated peasantry destroyed the church, scattered the royal bones and the sacred relics, carried off the costly vessels, and proceeded to demolish other fortresses in the same riotous manner.[o] The Saxon princes endeavoured to appease the king's indignation by representing to him that these outrages were committed without their sanction, and by promising to punish the ringleaders; but he refused to listen to their apologies, inveighed against the Saxons as traitors whom no treaties could bind, and complained to the pope of the sacrileges which had been committed at the Harzburg.[p] About the same time the tumultuary spirit of the Germans showed itself in outbreaks in various quarters. The citizens of Cologne expelled their archbishop, Hanno, but he soon reduced them to submission, and punished them with characteristic severity.[q]

[m] Luden, ix. 36. Atto went to Rome, where he quarrelled with Gregory and died excommunicate. Floto, ii. 139.

[n] The letter (Hard. vi. 1220) has been questioned; but see Voigt, 190. For the Milanese troubles, Landulf. sen. iii. 32; Pagi, xvii. 418. Herlembald was killed in a street affray, April 1075 (Arnulf, iv. 10), and was canonized by Urban II. Acta SS., Jun. 27; Pagi, xviii. 42.

[o] Lambert, pp. 210, 211; Bruno, 334, 340; Voigt, 258, 262.

[p] Lambert, p. 211.

[q] Ib. pp. 212-15; Voigt, 266-75.

In April 1074 Gregory sent the empress-mother Agnes, with four bishops, on an embassy into Germany. They were received at Nuremberg by Henry, but refused to hold any communication with him until he should have done penance for his offences against the church. Out of deference to his mother, the king submitted to this condition; in the rough garb of a penitent, and with his feet bare, he sued for and received absolution; and his excommunicated courtiers were also absolved, on swearing that they would restore the church property which they had taken.[r] Henry was disposed to accede to the pope's intended measures against simoniacs, as he hoped by such means to get rid of some bishops who had opposed him in the Saxon troubles.[s] It was proposed that a council should be held in Germany, under a legate, with a view to investigating the cases of bishops suspected of having obtained their promotion by unlawful means. The primate Siegfried—a mean, selfish, and pusillanimous prelate—made no objection to the proposal. But Liemar, archbishop of Bremen, a man of very high character for piety, learning, and integrity,[t] declared that it was an infringement on the rights of the national church; that, in the absence of the pope, the archbishop of Mentz alone was entitled to preside over German councils, as perpetual legate of the holy see. In consequence of his opposition, Liemar was suspended by the envoys, was cited to Rome, and, as he did not appear, was excommunicated by Gregory, who wrote to him a letter of severe rebuke; and other prelates who

[r] Lambert, p. 215; Bernold, A.D. 1074; Floto, ii. 14. The authority for Henry's penitential dress is an unprinted work of Manegold (for whom see below, ch. iv.), quoted by Floto. But Giesebrecht denies the truth of the scene. iii. 1020. Cf. Ranke in Abhandl. d. Berliner Acad. A.D. 1854, p. 448.

[s] Lambert, pp. 215, 216; Voigt, 276; Luden, viii. 552-7.

[t] Even the violent Bonizo styles him "virum eloquentissimum et liberalibus studiis adprime eruditum," l. vii. (Patrol. cl. 837).

took part with him were suspended until they should clear themselves before the pope.[u] Agnes and her companions were dismissed by the king with gifts, and were assured that he would aid the pope in his endeavours to suppress simony.[x]

Gregory still had hopes of using Henry as an ally. In December 1074 he addressed to him two letters—the one, thanking him for his promise of co-operation;[y] the other, remarkable as announcing the project of a crusade. The pope states that fifty thousand men, from both sides of the Alps, were ready to march against the infidels of the east, if he would be their leader; that he earnestly wishes to undertake the expedition, more especially as it holds out a hope of reconciliation with the Greek church; and that, if he should go, Henry must in his absence guard the church as a mother, and defend her honour.[z] Even so late as July 1075, he commended the king for his co-operation in discountenancing simony, and for his desire to enforce chastity on the clergy, while he expressed a hope that this might be regarded as a pledge for yet more excellent things.[a]

In the meantime the pope's measures of reform were producing a violent commotion. Gregory was resolved to proceed with vigour in the suppression of simony and of marriage among the clergy. Like Peter Damiani, he

[u] Lambert, 216; Bonizo, 811; Greg. Ep. ii. 28.

[x] Bonizo, 811; Berthold, A.D. 1074 (Pertz, v.). Agnes died at Rome, Dec. 14, 1078. Giesebr. iii. 457-8.

[y] ii. 30.

[z] Ep. ii. 31. See Hefele, v. 33. In Jaffé's edition, p. 532, there is a letter from Gregory to the countess Matilda, inviting her to join the expedition, and telling her that the empress-mother had already promised to do so. "Ego autem, talibus ornatus sororibus, libentissime mare transirem, ut animam meam, si oporteret, vobiscum pro Christo ponerem; quas mihi semper cupio in æternâ patriâ adhærere" (p. 533). Ep. ii. 37 is an invitation to all Christians to join the crusade. In another quarter we find Gregory corresponding with a Mahometan king, Anzir of Mauritania, in terms which recall to mind the opinion of the latitudinarian party among the Spaniards as to the agreement of the two religions (see vol. iii. p. 453). Ep. iii. 21.

[a] Ep. iii. 3.

included under the name of simony all lay patronage of benefices; that which is given to God (it was said) is given for ever, so that the donor can thenceforth have no further share in the disposal of it.[b] In enforcing celibacy on the clergy, he was probably influenced in part by his strict monastic ideas, and in part by considerations of policy. By binding the clergy to single life, he might hope to detach them from their kindred and from society, to destroy in them the feeling of nationality, to consolidate them into a body devoted to the papacy, and owning allegiance to it rather than to the temporal sovereigns under whom they enjoyed the benefits of law and government, to preserve in the hierarchy wealth which might have readily escaped from its hands through the channels of family and social connexions.

At his first synod, in Lent 1074, canons were passed against simony and clerical marriage. The clergy who were guilty of such practices were to be debarred from all functions in the church; the laity were charged to refuse their ministrations; it was declared that their blessing was turned into a curse, and their prayer into sin—that disobedience to this mandate was idolatry and paganism.[c] Even if such enactments did not directly contradict the long acknowledged principle of the church, that the validity of sacraments does not depend on the character of the minister, their effect was practically the same; for it mattered not whether the sacraments were annulled, or whether the laity were told that attendance on them was sinful.[d] The charge to the laity had,

[b] Placidus Nonantul. (one of Gregory's party, about A.D. 1100), de Honore Ecclesiæ, 7 (Patrol. cxliii.).

[c] The acts of the council are lost, but its decrees are partially known from a defence of it by Bernold of Constance (Hard. vi. 1523, seqq.). That against marriage is preserved by Gratian, Decret. I. lxxxi. 15, Patrol clxxxvii.), and by Gerhoch (In Psalm x., ib. cxciii. 794). See Gregory's letters to the archbishops of Mentz and of Magdeburg, and to the bishop of Constance, in Jaffé's edition, 523-6.

[d] Sigeb. Gembl. Ann. 1074 (Pertz, vi.); Schröckh, xxv. 443; Bowden, ii.

indeed, already been given by Nicolas and by Alexander;[e] but the decrees of those popes appear to have been little known or enforced beyond the bounds of Italy,[f] and north of the Alps the canon against the marriage of the clergy was received as something wholly new. In Germany it aroused a general feeling of indignation among the clergy.[g] They declared that it was unwarranted by Scripture or by the ancient church; that the pope was heretical and insane for issuing such an order, in contradiction to the Saviour and to St. Paul;[h] that he required the clergy to live like angels rather than men, while at the same time he opened the door to all impurity; that they would rather renounce their priesthood than their wives.[i] Some bishops openly defied the pope—not from any personal interest, but because they felt for the misery which his measures would inflict on the clergy, their wives, and their families. Otho of Constance, one of Henry's excommunicated counsellors, who had before tolerated the marriage of his clergy, now put forth a formal sanction of it.[k] Altmann of Passau, in publishing the decree, was nearly killed.[l] The primate, Siegfried, on being required to promulgate it,[m] desired his clergy to

25. Burkhardt, bishop of Worms, who died in 1026, had made it a matter for a year of penance if any one had despised the ministrations of a married priest. (Decret. l. xx., Patrol. cxl. 963.) For the history of the subject see Lea, 203-4. It is not easy to see how the words as to the change of blessing into a curse can be regarded as meaning less than that the sacraments are invalid, and the decree seems clearly to contradict the council of Gangra (see vol i. p. 444). The apologist attempts to defend it by citing prohibitions against communicating with *heretical* teachers (Hard. vi. 1541). See the devices of Urban II. and Gratian in Grat. Decr. I. Dist. xxvii. c. 6 (Patrol. clxxxviii).

[e] Gratian, l. cit., cc. 5, 6.

[f] Bernold, Ann. 1073 (Pertz, v.), says that Gregory forbade throughout the catholic church what his predecessors had forbidden in Italy.

[g] See a letter in Martene, Thes. i. 230-41, which has been ascribed to Sigebert of Gemblours. See Giesel. II. ii. 16.

[h] St. Matt. xix. 11; I Cor. vii. 9.

[i] Lambert, 218. That by *Galliæ* Lambert means Germany is clear from pp. 238, 255. Cf. Hefele, v. 6.

[k] Greg. Extrav. 12-13 (Patr. cxlviii.); Paul. Bernried. Vita Gregorii, 37, 41; Theiner, ii. 183; Luden, viii. 563.

[l] Vita Altm. c. 11 (Pertz, xii. 232)

[m] Greg. ed. Jaffé, p. 523

put away their wives within six months. As the order was ineffectual, he held a synod at Erfurt, in October 1074, where he required them to renounce either their wives or their ministry, and at the same time he revived his ancient claim to tithes, which the Thuringians supposed to have been relinquished. A band of armed Thuringians broke in, and the council was dissolved in confusion.[n] Siegfried requested that the pope would modify his orders, but received in answer a rebuke for his want of courage, and a command to enforce them all.[o] A second council was held at Mentz, in October 1075; but, notwithstanding the presence of a Roman legate, the clergy were so furious in their language, their looks, and their gestures, that Siegfried was glad to escape alive. Having no inclination to sacrifice himself for another man's views, he declared that the pope must carry out his schemes for himself, and was content with ordering that in future no married man should be promoted to ecclesiastical office, and with exacting a promise of celibacy from those whom he ordained.[p] In France, the excitement was no less than in Germany. A council at Paris, in 1074, cried out that the new decrees were intolerable and irrational; Walter, abbot of Pontoise, who attempted to defend them, was beaten, spitted on, and imprisoned;[q] and John, archbishop of Rouen, while endeavouring to enforce them at a provincial synod, was attacked with stones and driven to flight.[r] Gregory in one of his letters mentions a report (for which, however, there is no other authority) that a monk had even been burnt at Cambray for publishing the prohibition of marriage.[s]

[n] Lambert, 218-19.

[o] Ep. iii. 4. Sept. 3, 1075.

[p] Lambert, 230; Schröckh, xxv. 446; Voigt, 283.

[q] Vita S. Galterii, c. 10, ap. Mabillon, ix.

[r] Order. Vital. iv. 2.

[s] Ep. iv. 20. It was probably about this time that the letter in the name of Ulric (see p. 164) appeared, and it

Gregory was undaunted by the agitation which had arisen. Finding that little assistance could be expected from synods, he sent legates into all quarters with orders to enforce the decrees. To these legates he applied the text—"He that heareth you, heareth me;"[t] wherever they appeared, they were for the time the highest ecclesiastical authorities; and bishops trembled before the deacons and subdeacons who were invested with the pope's commission to overrule, to judge, and to depose them.[u] The monks, his sure allies in such a cause, were active in spreading the knowledge of the decrees among the people, and in stirring them up by their invectives against the clergy.[x] If bishops opposed his measures, he absolved their flocks from the obligation of obedience;[y] he avowed the intention of bringing public opinion to bear on such clergymen as should be impenetrable to his views of their duty to God and to religion;[z] he charged his lay supporters to prevent their ministrations, "even by force, if necessary."[a] The effects of thus setting the people against their pastors were fearful. In some cases the laity took part with the denounced clergy;[b] but more commonly they rose against them, and with violence and insult drove them, with their wives and children, from their homes.[c] A general confusion followed; the ordinances of religion were deserted, or were profaned

evidently made a great sensation. Floto, ii. 41.

[t] *E.g.*, Epp. Extrav. 8, 34 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

[u] De Marca, VI. xxx. 3-10; Schmidt, ii. 516; Voigt, 227, 230; Giesel. II. ii. 243. The legates were to be maintained at the expense of the countries to which they were sent, and their rapacity soon became a subject of frequent complaints. See De Marca, l. c.

[x] Neand. vii. 133-4.

[y] Ep. ad Teutonas, ap. Paul. Bernr. c. 41; ad Constantienses, ib. c. 38. Otho of Constance was expelled from his see. Pagi, xvii. 401.

[z] Ep. iv. 20; Ep. Extrav. 4; P. Bernr. c. 36.

[a] Ad Rudolf. Suev. et Berth. Carent. Ep. ii. 45.

[b] Theiner, ii. 209.

[c] Guibert of Nogent mentions a very licentious lay kinsman of his own, who was furious against the married clergy. De Vitâ suâ, i. 7.

and invaded by laymen;[d] and the contempt of the clergy thus generated was very effectual in contributing to the increase of anti-hierarchical and heretical sects.[e]

The pope could the better afford to be calm, because the troubles excited by his decree as to celibacy distracted the general attention from a yet more important part of his designs, and weakened the influence of a large party among the clergy whose opposition he had reason to expect.[f] At the outset of his pontificate he had not attacked the practice of investiture. When Anselm, the favourite chaplain and adviser of the countess Matilda, on being nominated to the see of Lucca, consulted him on the subject, Gregory advised him not to take investiture from Henry until the king should have dismissed his excommunicated counsellors and should have been reconciled to the Roman church;[g] he did not, however, object to the ceremony of investiture in itself, and, at Henry's request, he deferred the consecration of Anselm, and that of Hugh, who had been elected to the bishoprick of Die, in Burgundy, until they should have been invested

[d] "Infantes baptizant, sordido humore aurium pro sacro oleo et chrismate utentes." The people trod under foot the eucharistic bread, and spilt the wine consecrated by married priests. (Sigeb. Gembl. Ann. 1074, ap. Pertz, vi.). Professor Leo cites these profanities as if, instead of being the acts of people excited by Gregory's influence, they were part of that previous corrupt state of the church which Gregory undertook to reform! Gesch. v. Italien, i. 459.

[e] Sigeb. l. c.; Schmidt, ii. 485. One evidence of this is that the name of Patarines, originally applied to a papal party, came to denote sectaries. Neand. vii. 136-7. See above, p. 252; Mosh. ii. 344; Giesel. II. ii. 17; Theiner, ii. 252.

[f] Planck, IV. i. 145-9, 155; Voigt, 290.

[g] Ep. i. 21 (Sept. 1, 1073). Anselm (the second of the name who in that age held the see of Lucca), after having been invested by Henry, was led, by intercourse with Gregory (who had before thought indifferently of him, Ep. i. 11) and by reading the canons, to condemn his past life, and to enter a monastery as a penitent. Gregory recalled him, gave him papal investiture, and afterwards found him one of his most zealous and most useful adherents. (Vita Anselmi Lucens. 3, 4, ap. Pertz, xii. with the preface by Wilmans, p. 1.) Among other things, he served the papacy by his labours as a canonist. (Janus, 109.) His treatise in behalf of Gregory against the antipope is in Patrol. cxlviii.

by the king.[h] But at the Lent synod of 1075 (where the censures of the church were pronounced against many of Henry's partisans, who were charged with a breach of the conditions on which they had obtained absolution at Nuremberg),[i] Gregory issued a decree that no ecclesiastic should take investiture from lay hands, and that no lay potentate should confer investiture.[k] Investiture, as we have seen, although it originated before the feudal system,[l] had long been interpreted according to the principles of feudalism.[m] By its defenders it was maintained on the ground that it related to the temporalities only; that, if bishops and abbots were to enjoy these, they ought, like other holders of property, to acknowledge the superiority of the liege-lord, and to be subject to the usual feudal obligations. The opposite party replied that the temporalities were annexed to the spiritual office, as the body to the soul; that, if laymen could not confer the spiritualities, they ought not to meddle with the disposal of their appendages, but that these also should be conferred by the pope or the metropolitan, as an assurance to the receivers that their temporalities were given by God.[n] The abolition of investiture was a means to prevent effectually the sale of preferments by princes;[o] but this was not all. On investiture depended the power of sovereigns over prelates, and the right to expect feudal

[h] Hugo Floriac. ap. Pertz, viii. 411, quoted in note on Vit. Anselm. Comp. Ep. iv. 22, as to a bishop of Cambray.

[i] Hard. vi. 1551; Berthold, A.D. 1075.

[k] Greg. ap. Gratian. Decr. II. xvi. 7, cc. 12, 13. By some the decree has been placed in 1074, and it has been thought that Gregory delayed the publication of it until he was encouraged by the course of the Saxon war (Schröckh, xxv. 455; Schmidt, ii. 306). I have followed Pagi, xvii. 409; Voigt, 306; Stenzel, i. 462; Giesel. II. ii. 19; and Jaffé. That Mosheim (ii. 438) is mistaken in supposing the prohibition to relate to the use of the ring and the staff only—not to investiture in itself—see Schröckh, xxv. 456; Schmidt, ii. 290; Planck, IV. i. 131-2; Voigt, 308.

[l] See p. 144.

[m] Planck, IV. i. 128.

[n] Placid. Nonantul. De Honore Ecclesiæ, 41, 55 (Patrol. cxliii.); Honorius Augustodun. De Apostolico et Augusto, 4 (ib. clxxii.).

[o] Voigt, 178.

service from them; if there were no fealty, there could be no treason. The patronage which was taken from sovereigns would pass into other hands; the prelates would transfer their allegiance from the crown to the pope;[p] and if Gregory was sincere when, in September 1077, he told the people of Aquileia that he had no wish to interfere with the duty of bishops towards sovereigns,[q] he had at least discovered the real bearing of his pretensions when, in February 1079, he exacted from the new patriarch of Aquileia an oath of absolute fealty to himself, including the obligation of military service.[r]

Gregory knew that his decree was sure to be opposed by all the clergy who depended on the patronage of laymen—from the prelates of the imperial court to the chaplain of the most inconsiderable noble—and that, in addition to these, there were many who would oppose him, not from any selfish motive, but from the belief that the measure was an invasion of the lawful rights of princes.[s] For a time he hardly mentioned the new canon in his letters; the publication of it was chiefly left to his legates;[t] and sovereigns, as if in a contemptuous affectation of ignorance as to the new pretensions of Rome, continued to invest bishops and abbots as before.[u]

At Christmas 1075 an extraordinary outrage was perpetrated by Cencius, who has been already mentioned. This man, after having been anathematized by Alexander II. on account of his connexion with Cadalous, effected a reconciliation with Alexander, and continued to reside at Rome. The city was scandalized and disquieted by

[p] Onuphr. Panv. Vita Greg. (Patrol. cxlviii. 172-3); Milman, iii. 3; Floto, ii. 59.

[q] Ep. v. 5.

[r] Conc. Rom. vi. (Patrol. cxlviii. 813).

[s] Planck, IV. i. 144.

[t] Luden, viii. 573; Voigt, 312. It was not promulgated as a general law until the synod of autumn 1078. Floto ii. 57.

[u] Planck, IV. i. 141-2; Voigt, 318.

his irregularities, which had often brought him into collision with the government; he had even been condemned to death, and had been pardoned only through the intercession of the countess Matilda; but he possessed great wealth and influence, and was master of several fortified houses, which were garrisoned by a force of desperate ruffians.[x] On Christmas eve, Gregory proceeded to the church of St. Mary Major (where the holy cradle was then, as now, supposed to be preserved) for the midnight mass which ushers in the celebration of the Saviour's birth. In consequence of tempestuous weather, the congregation was small. The pope was in the act of administering the sacrament when the church was suddenly invaded by Cencius with a party of his retainers. The worshippers were borne down; some of them were stabbed with daggers. Gregory was rudely seized, was dragged by the hair, and beaten; a sword, aimed at him with the intention of despatching him, wounded him in the forehead; he was stripped of a part of his robes, and was carried off on the back of one of the villains to a tower belonging to Cencius. All this he bore with perfect composure, neither struggling to escape, nor asking for mercy. During the night he was exposed to the insults of the gang into whose hands he had fallen, among whom a sister of Cencius was conspicuous by the bitterness of her reproaches; and Cencius himself, holding a drawn sword at his throat, endeavoured by the most savage demeanour and threats to extort the cession of papal treasures, or of castles belonging to the apostolic see, to be held as benefices under it. But even in this den of ruffians, Gregory found sympathy from a man who endeavoured to protect him with furs against the piercing cold, and from a woman who bathed his wound. It was intended to send him privately out of the city; but in

[x] Paul Bernr 45-6; Bonizo, 811-13; Lambert, 242.

the course of the night the report of his captivity was spread by the clergy who had been with him at the time of the assault. The people of Rome were roused by the sound of bells and trumpets, the gates were watched so that no one could leave the city, and a vast multitude gathered around the tower of Cencius, demanding the release of their pastor. A breach was made in the wall, and the besiegers were preparing to set the place on fire, when Cencius, in abject terror, threw himself at the feet of his prisoner, and entreated forgiveness. "I pardon what thou hast done against myself," Gregory calmly replied; "as for thy offences against God, His Mother, and the church, I enjoin on thee a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and that, if thou return alive, thou be guided in future by my counsels." The pope, covered with blood, was received with exultation by the crowd, and was carried back to the church, to resume the interrupted rites, and to pour forth a thanksgiving for his deliverance.[y] Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, formerly chancellor of Italy, and still Henry's ablest and most active partisan in that country, was suspected of having instigated the attempt of Cencius, and was ordered to leave Rome.[z] Cencius, forgetting his promises of amendment, soon incurred a fresh excommunication, and fled to Henry, who was then in Italy. The king refused to admit him to his presence openly, as being excommunicate, although it is asserted by the opposite party that he held secret conferences with him by night; and Cencius died at Pavia, where he was buried by Guibert with a pomp which gave countenance to the suspicions against the archbishop.[a]

The divisions of Germany had become more desperate. The king and the Saxons had each invoked the pope.

[y] Paul Bernr. 49-56; Lambert, p. 342; Berthold, A.D. 1076.

[z] Bonizo, 812; P. Bernr. 48, 57

Voigt, 360-1.

[a] Bonizo, 816; Floto, ii. 139.

Henry demanded the deposition of the prelates who had opposed him; the Saxons declared that such a king was unworthy to reign, and entreated Gregory to sanction the election of another in his room.[b] Henry had been greatly strengthened and elated by a victory over the Saxons at Hohenberg, on the Unstrut, in June 1075. The pope, on that occasion, wrote to him, "As to the pride of the Saxons, who wrongfully opposed you, which, by God's judgment, has been crushed before your face, we must both rejoice for the peace of the church, and grieve because much Christian blood has been spilt."[c] He expressed a willingness to receive him as his lord, brother, and son, and exhorted him to employ his success rather with a view to God's honour than to his own; but the advice was disregarded, and the king, by the abuse of his triumph, had added to the miseries and grievances of the conquered people.[d]

A short time before the outrage of Cencius, ambassadors from Henry arrived at Rome; and on their return they were accompanied by envoys charged with a letter from Gregory to the king.[e] The address was conditional: "Health and apostolical benediction—if, however, he obey the apostolic see as a Christian king ought." The letter explained that Henry's conduct had given cause for this doubtful form; he was censured for intercourse with excommunicate persons, for nominating and investing bishops to several sees—among them, Tedald to Milan. But as to investiture, the pope offers to meet the king's wishes if any tolerable way of accommodation can be pointed out. The bearers of the letter were instructed to proceed according as it should be received; if Henry

[b] Otbert, 3 (Pertz, xii.); Voigt, 368.
[c] Ep. iii. 7.
[d] Bernold, Ann. 1075; Lambert, p. 527.
[e] Ep. iii. 10. The date, Jan. 8, 1076, is inconsistent with the course of events. Luden (ix. 566), Voigt (369), and Floto (ii. 71) show that it reached Henry on Jan. 1, and refer it to the beginning of December.

were contumacious, they were to cite him, under pain of excommunication, to answer for his misdeeds at a synod which was to be held at Rome in the following Lent.[f] He had already been warned by a private mission that, unless he should reform, he would be excommunicated.[g]

The reception of the pope's letter was such that the envoys felt themselves bound to deliver the citation. The king was in great indignation; he sent them away with contempt, and summoned the bishops and abbots of Germany to a council at Worms, where all but a few Saxon bishops attended, and the feeling of the assembly was highly excited. One course only appeared to be open to Henry, unless he were disposed to absolute submission; as obedience to the pope had from the days of St. Boniface been a part of German Christianity, the only means of setting aside the authority of Gregory was by repudiating his claim to the apostolic see.[h] An ally was found in Cardinal Hugh the White—the same who had taken so conspicuous a part in the elevation of Hildebrand to the pontificate. Hugh, a man of great ability and skilful in business, but versatile and utterly unprincipled, had lately been deprived by Gregory for conniving at simony, and for the third time laid under anathema.[i] He now produced letters which are said to have been forged in the name of the Roman cardinals, charging the pope with a multitude of offences, and demanding his deposition; and to these Hugh added a virulent invective of his own. Gregory was reproached with the lowness of his birth; he was accused of having obtained the papacy by bribery and violence—of simony,

Jan. 24, 1076.

[f] Lambert, p. 241; Voigt, 372.

[g] Berthold, p. 280. Cf. Greg. Ep. Extr. 26 (Patrol. cxlviii. 672).

[h] Milman, iii. 52.

[i] Donizo, Vita Mathild. i. 1280, ap. Pertz, xii.; Bonizo, 807-10. Prof. Floto, without giving any grounds, denies that he was excommunicated before 1078. Lambert says, "quem ante paucos dies propter ineptiam ejus et mores inconditos papa de statione sua amoverat.

magic, praying to the devil.[k] Although the charges were for the most part so monstrous as to be utterly incredible, the German prelates were in no mood to criticize them, and, headed by Siegfried, they pronounced the deposition of Hildebrand. Two bishops only, Adalbero of Würzburg and Herman of Metz, objected that, as no bishop could be condemned without a regular trial, much less could a pope, against whom not even a bishop or an archbishop could be admitted as accuser. But William of Utrecht, one of the ablest of Henry's party, told them that they must either subscribe the condemnation of Gregory or renounce their allegiance to the king; and they submitted.[l]

On the breaking up of the council, Henry wrote to the Romans a letter in which was embodied the substance of one addressed to Gregory. He begs them to reckon his enemies as their own enemies, "and especially the monk Hildebrand," whom he charges with attempting to rob him of his Italian kingdom, and of his hereditary rights in the appointment to the papacy—with having declared himself resolved either to die or to deprive Henry both of his crown and of his life. The Romans are desired not to kill the pope, since life after degradation would be the severest punishment for him; but if he should make any resistance to the decree of deposition, they are to thrust him out by force, and are to receive from the king a new pope, able and willing to heal the wounds which Hildebrand had caused. Henry's letter to the pope was addressed, "To Hildebrand, now not apostolic pontiff, but a false monk." It taxed him in violent terms with an accumulation of offences and enormities. "We bore with these things," said the king, "out of respect for the apostolic see. But you mistook our humility for fear, and rose against the

[k] P. Bernr. 67; Lambert, p. 242, Voigt, 376.

[l] Lambert, p. 242

royal power itself which God had granted to us—as if we had received the kingdom from you, and as if it were in your hand, not in God's." And he peremptorily charged Hildebrand to descend from the chair of which he was unworthy.[m] The bishops also wrote a letter to "brother Hildebrand," in which they charged him with throwing the church into confusion. His beginning had been bad, his progress worse; he had been guilty of cruelty and pride; he had attempted to deprive bishops of the power committed to them by God, and had given up everything to the fury of the multitude. He had obtained the papacy by the breach of an oath to the late emperor; his intimacy with the countess Matilda is censured as improper; and the bishops conclude by solemnly renouncing him.[n] The prelates of Lombardy, in a council at Piacenza, confirmed the proceedings of their brethren at Worms, and swore never to acknowledge Hildebrand as pope.[o]

In February, the customary Lenten synod met at Rome. It is said that the members were pondering on the appearance of an extraordinary egg which had lately been produced—displaying on its shell the figures of a serpent and a shield[p]—when Roland, a canon of Parma,[q] who had been despatched from the council of Piacenza, entered the assembly, and delivered the king's letter to Gregory. "My lord the king," he said, "and all the bishops, both beyond the mountains and in Italy, charge thee forthwith to quit St. Feb. 21-2, 1076.

[m] The letters are in Bruno de Bello Saxon. (Pertz, v. 352); also in the Leges, ii. 46-7. See Hefele, v. 58. That actually sent to the pope differs somewhat from the copy inserted in the letter to the Romans.

[n] Pertz, Leges, ii. 44-8.

[o] See Stenzel, i. 382.

[p] P. Bernr. c. 38; Donizo, l. i. c. 19.

[q] Berthold, p. 262. "Ex officinâ iniquitatis, scilicet Parmensi civitate," says Bonizo (814), Parma being the church to which Cadalous and Guibert had belonged. Roland was soon after made bishop of Treviso by Henry, and was placed under perpetual anathema by Gregory in 1078. Voigt, 455.

Peter's seat which thou hast invaded; for it is not fit that any one should ascend to such an honour unless by their command and by the imperial gift." Then, turning to the assembled prelates, he summoned them to appear before the king at Whitsuntide, that they might receive from his hands a new pope instead of the ravening wolf who had usurped the apostolic chair. The synod was thrown into confusion. "Seize him!" cried the bishop of Porto; and Roland might have paid for his audacity with his life, had not the pope warded off the swords of his soldiery by interposing his own body. Gregory stilled the tempest, and calmly desired that the king's letter should be read.[r] The bishops entreated him to pronounce the judgment which Henry had deserved, and on the following day the excommunication was uttered. The pope ordered that the canons against despisers of the apostolic see should be recited; he alluded to the portentous egg, of which the late scene now suggested an explanation; he recounted Henry's misdeeds, and the failure of all attempts to reclaim him. Now that the king had attacked the foundations of the church, it was time to draw forth the sword of vengeance, and to strike down the enemy of God and of His church; and, in accordance with the desire of the assembled fathers, he pronounced sentence on Henry in the form of an address to St. Peter. The pope called the apostle to witness that he had not sought the papacy, or obtained it by any unlawful means; and, by the power of binding and loosing committed to him, he declared Henry to be deprived of the government of Germany and Italy, released all Christians from their oaths of fealty to him, and denounced him with

[r] On the discrepancies as to the order of proceedings, see Bowden, ii. 106; Luden, ix. 66. Anna Comnena says that Gregory on this occasion treated the king's ambassadors with indignity such that her feelings as a woman and a princess forbid her to describe it (i. 13). I am not aware that the Latin writers throw any light on this.

the curse of the church. The rebellious bishops of Lombardy were suspended and excommunicated; those who had taken part in the proceedings at Worms were placed under a like sentence, unless within a certain time they should prove that their concurrence had been unwilling.[s] The empress Agnes was present, and heard the condemnation of her son.[t]

Gregory announced the excommunication and deposition of Henry in letters to the people of Germany and to all Christians.[u] The report of the sentence reached the king at Utrecht, where he was keeping the season of Easter. At first he was greatly agitated; but the bishop, William, succeeded in persuading him to put on an appearance of indifference, and he resolved to meet his condemnation by a counter-anathema on the pope. Two bishops, Pibo of Toul and Dietrich of Verdun, although strong partisans of the king, were afraid to share in such a step, and left Utrecht by night. But on Easter-day, at high mass, William ascended the pulpit of his cathedral, and, after a fiery invective, pronounced a ban against Hildebrand.[x] The Lombard bishops, on being informed of Gregory's sentence against them, held another synod, under the presidency of Guibert, and renewed their condemnation of the pope.[y]

The unexampled measure[z] on which Gregory had ventured rent all Germany into two hostile parties. No middle course was possible between holding with the pope against the king and holding with the king against the pope.[a] Herman of Metz ventured to report to Gregory

[s] P. Bernr. 69-76; Hard. vi. 1566. See Luden, ix. 66; Hefele, v. 65.

[t] Berthold, 263; Letter of Agnes to Altmann of Passau, ap. Hug. Flavin. (Pertz, viii. 435).

[u] Epp. iii. 6; iv. 1; Bruno, 354-6; P. Bernr. 77-8.

[x] Hugo Flav. ap. Pertz, viii. 458.

[y] Stenzel, i. 387; Voigt, 395.

[z] "Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nunquam invenio quemquam eorum ante hunc a Romano pontifice excommunicatum vel regno privatum." Otto Frising. vi. 35, ap. Urstis. i.; Nat. Alex. xiii. Dissert. 9.

[a] Voigt, 393.

that his right to excommunicate a king was questioned; to which he replied[b] that the charge given by our Lord to St. Peter—"Feed my sheep"—made no distinction between kings and other men. He cited examples from history—the behaviour of St. Ambrose to Theodosius, and the pretended deposition of Childeric by Zacharias;[c] in answer to the opinion that the royal power was superior to the episcopal, he alleged, as if from Ambrose, a saying that the difference between lead and shining gold is nothing in comparison of that between secular and episcopal dignity;[d] and he declared that royalty was invented by human pride, whereas priesthood was instituted by the Divine mercy.

Henry soon felt that his power was ebbing from him. Destitute as Gregory was of any material force, he had left his decree to find for itself the means of its execution; yet in this he did not rely wholly on the belief of his spiritual power. The sentence of deposition against Henry was addressed to subjects among whom a disloyal and rebellious spirit had long prevailed. The pope was sure to find an ally in every one who had been offended by the king himself, by his guardians, or by his father; all were glad to welcome the religious sanction which was thus given to their patriotism, their vindictiveness, or their ambition.[e] The wrath of heaven was believed to have been visibly declared against Henry's cause. Godfrey "the Hunchbacked," duke of Lorraine, who had undertaken to seat an imperialist antipope in

[b] Ep. iv. 2.

[c] That this was a misrepresentation of the case, see vol. iii. p. 90. It is exposed by Waltram, bishop of Naumburg, in his answer to Gregory, 'De Unitate Ecclesiastica,' ap. Freher, i. 156-8, 7.

[d] The work which he quotes—'Pastorale,' or 'De Dignitate Sacerdotali'—(c. 2), is undoubtedly spurious. Mabillon found it described in a MS. as a discourse, 'De Informatione Episcoporum,' by Sylvester II., and so published it in his 'Analecta,' without being aware of its identity with the pseudo-Ambrosian tract. Patrol. xvii. 567; cxxxix. 169.

[e] Hallam, M. A. i. 432; Voigt, 423; Milman, iii. 59.

St. Peter's chair,[f] had been assassinated at Antwerp in the beginning of the year.[g] The bishop of Utrecht, soon after his display of vehemence against Gregory on Easter-day, fell sick; it was rumoured that he saw devils in his frenzy—that he died unhouselled and in raving despair.[h] Others of the king's partisans were also carried off about the same time, and their deaths were interpreted as judgments.[i] A spirit of disaffection became general. Henry summoned diets, but few appeared at them; some of the princes, whose policy had hitherto been doubtful, now openly declared themselves against him,[k] and bishops in alarm retracted their adhesion to the measures which had been taken at Worms.[l] Among these prelates was Udo, archbishop of Treves, who went to Italy, made his peace with the pope, and on his return avoided all intercourse with the excommunicated bishops and counsellors; nor, although specially permitted by Gregory to confer with the king, in the hope of bringing him to submission, could he be persuaded to eat or to pray with him. The example was contagious; Henry found himself deserted and shunned, and his attempts to conciliate his opponents by lenient measures were ineffectual.[m] The pope, in answer to a letter from the Saxons, told them that, if the king should refuse to amend, they ought to choose a successor, who should be confirmed in the kingdom by the apostolic authority.[n]

[f] Berthold, p. 284.

[g] This Godfrey, the husband of Matilda, succeeded his father in 1069 (Bernold, A.D. 1069), and was murdered by the contrivance of Count Robert of Flanders, Feb. 26, 1076 (Lambert, p. 243). Stenzel gives him a high character. i. 334.

[h] The story is given, with some variety of details, by Hug. Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 458; P. Bernr. c. 80; Lambert, p. 244; Bruno, p. 361: Bernold, Ann. 1076, etc. Berthold, however, tells us that William before his death had left the king, in consequence of having been disappointed in an attempt to get the bishoprick of Paderborn for a kinsman. 283.

[i] Bruno, 361-2. On the other hand, it was said that when Gregory pronounced his sentence, the chair on which he had been sitting cracked, although new and strongly made. Benno, ap. Goldast. Apolog. pro Henr. p. 3.

[k] Stenzel, i. 391; Luden, ix. 78.

[l] Floto, ii. 94.

[m] Lambert, 246-7; Voigt, 409.

[n] Ep. iv. 3. Sept. 3, 1076.

In October a great assembly of German dignitaries met at Tribur. The leaders of the princes and nobles were Rudolf of Swabia, Welf of Bavaria, Berthold of Zähringen, and Otho of Nordheim; at the head of the prelates was the primate Siegfried. The patriarch of Aquileia and bishop Altmann of Passau appeared as legates from the pope, and made a strong impression by declaring that they must avoid all intercourse with such bishops as had not obtained formal absolution for their concurrence in the acts of the council of Worms.[o] The sessions lasted seven days. All the errors, the misdeeds, the calamities of Henry's life were exposed and dwelt on; a determination to depose him was loudly avowed. The king, who was at Oppenheim, on the opposite side of the Rhine, sent messages to the assembly day after day. His tone became even abject; he entreated the members to spare him; he promised amendment; he offered to bind himself by the most solemn pledges, and to resign into their hands all the powers of government, if they would but suffer him to enjoy the name and the ensigns of royalty, which, as they had been conferred by all, could not (he said) be resigned without discredit to all. His promises were rejected with contemptuous references to his former breaches of faith, and the confederates declared an intention of immediately choosing another king. Each party entertained projects of crossing the river and attacking the other by force; but at length it was proposed that the matters in dispute should be referred to the pope, who was to be invited to attend a diet at Augsburg at the feast of Candlemas ensuing. If Henry could obtain absolution within a year from the time of his excommunication, he was to be acknowledged as king; the princes would accompany him to Italy, where he should be crowned as

Oct. 16.

[o] Lambert, 252.

emperor, and would aid him in driving out the Normans; but if unabsolved, he was to forfeit his kingdom for ever. In the meantime he was to forego the symbols and the pomp of royalty, to refrain from entering a church until he should be absolved, to dismiss his excommunicated advisers, and to live as a private man at Spires, restricting himself to the company of Dietrich, bishop of Verdun, and a few other persons. If he should fail in the performance of any condition, the princes were to be free from their engagements to him. Hard as these terms were, Henry saw no alternative but the acceptance of them; he disbanded his troops, dismissed his counsellors, and, with his queen and her infant child Conrad, withdrew to the city which had been assigned for his residence.[p]

The prospect of meeting the pope in Germany—of appearing before him as a deposed king, in the presence of the exasperated and triumphant princes—was alarming, and Henry, by an embassy to Rome, requested that he might be allowed to make his submission in Italy. But Gregory refused the request, and announced to the Germans his compliance with the invitation to Augsburg.[q] The year within which it was necessary for the king to obtain absolution was already drawing towards an end, and in desperation he resolved to cross the Alps and to present himself before the pope. With much difficulty he raised the funds necessary for the journey; for those who had fed on him in his prosperity were now deaf to his applications.[r] He left Speris with Bertha and her child; among their train was only one man of free birth, and he a person of humble station. As the passes of the Alps were in the hands of the opposite party, the king, instead of proceeding by the nearest road, took his way through

[p] Lambert, 253-4; Bonizo, 816. See Hefele, v. 79-80.

[q] Berthold, p. 287.

[r] Lambert, 255.

Burgundy, where he spent Christmas at Besançon with his maternal great uncle Duke William.[s] At the foot of Mont Cenis, he was honourably received by his mother-in-law Adelaide, and her son Amadeus, marquis of Susa: but, says Lambert of Hersfeld, "the anger of the Lord had turned from him not only those who were bound by fealty and gratitude, but even his friends and nearest kindred;"[t] and Adelaide refused him a passage, except on condition of his giving up to her the disposal of five bishopricks situated within her territory. With such a proposal, which seemed as if intended to embroil him further with the pope, it was impossible to comply; but Henry was fain to purchase the passage by ceding to her a valuable territory in Burgundy.[u]

The winter was of extraordinary severity. The Rhine and the Po were thickly frozen over from Martinmas until the end of March; in many places the vines were killed by the frost; the snow which covered the Alps was as hard and as slippery as ice.[x] By the help of guides, the royal party with difficulty reached the summit of the pass; but the descent was yet more hazardous. The men crept on their hands and knees, often slipping and rolling down the glassy declivities. The queen, her child, and her female attendants, were wrapped in cow-hides, and in this kind of sledge were dragged down by their guides. The horses were led, with their feet tied together; many dropped dead through exhaustion, some fell from precipices and perished, and almost all the rest were rendered unserviceable.[y]

Having achieved this perilous passage, the king arrived

[s] Lambert, 255.

[t] Ib. 256.

[u] Ib. This is questioned by J. von Müller and by Luden (ix. 111), as also by Floto (who, however, supposes that Henry gave the marchioness rich presents, and that she, in return, provided everything requisite for the passage of the Alps). ii. 123. See too Giesebr. iii. 190-1.

[x] Lambert, 256; Berthold, 287.

[y] Lambert, 256.

at Turin, where he met with a reception which contrasted strongly with the behaviour of his northern subjects. The Italians remembered the effects produced by former visits of German emperors; they looked to Henry for a redress of their grievances, for a pacification of their discords; the Lombards were roused to enthusiasm by a belief that he was come to depose the detested Gregory. Bishops, nobles, and a host of inferior partisans flocked around him, and, as he moved onwards, the number of his followers continually increased.[z]

The proceedings at Tribur had opened a magnificent prospect to Gregory; he might hope to extinguish the imperial power, and to create it anew in accordance with his own principles.[a] Contrary to the advice and entreaties of his Roman counsellors,[b] he set out for Germany under the guidance of the countess (or marchioness) Matilda, who, by the murder of her husband, the younger Godfrey of Lorraine, and by the death of her mother, had lately become sole mistress of her rich inheritance.[c] The "Great Countess" was not more remarkable for power and influence than for character. Her talents and accomplishments were extraordinary; no sovereign of the age was more skilful in the art of government; and with a masculine resolution and energy she united the warmth of a woman's enthusiastic devotion.[d] Her marriage with the imperialist Godfrey, the son of her stepfather, had been disturbed by differences of feeling and opinion, and after a short union the pair had lived apart in their respective hereditary dominions.[e] The attachment with

[z] Lambert, 256; Voigt, 430.

[a] Ib. 424.

[b] Ep. Extrav. 13.

[c] Beatrice died in April 1076. Donizo, i. c. 20.

[d] Luden, viii. 542; Stenzel, i. 351. See Giesebr. iii. 193-5.

[e] Lambert, 257. As to the time of the marriage, see Tosti, La Contessa Matilde, 111-12, Florence, 1859. Father Tosti wrongly says that Baronius denies the marriage (111). That the great annalist (1074. 22-5) is mistaken in supposing them divorced without having cohabited, is shown by Pagi, xviii. 381. Floto (ii. 20) thinks that

which she devoted herself to the pope was a mark for the slander of Gregory's enemies, but needs no other explanation than that acquaintance with her from her early years which had given him an opportunity of imbuing her mind with his lofty ecclesiastical principles, and of gaining over her the influence of a spiritual father.[f] In company with Matilda the pope was advancing northwards, when, on hearing that Henry had reached Vercelli, and finding himself disappointed in his expectation of an escort from the princes of Germany, he was persuaded by her to withdraw to Canossa, a strong Apennine fortress belonging to the countess. There they were joined by the marchioness Adelaide of Susa and her son, who seem to have accompanied the king across the Alps,[g] by Hugh abbot of Cluny, the godfather of Henry and the ancient superior of Gregory, and by other persons of eminent dignity.[h]

The bishops and others of the king's party who desired reconciliation with the pope appeared gradually at Canossa. Some of them had eluded the sentinels who guarded the Alpine passes; some had fallen into the

Gregory's influence contributed to the separation, and cites Ep. i. 47, in which the pope, a few weeks after the marriage, exhorts Matilda to cultivate an ascetic sanctity. The elder Landulf groundlessly charges Matilda with instigating the assassination of Godfrey. iii. 31.

[f] Planck, IV. i. 214; Stenzel, ii. 27; Stephen's Essays, ii. 46; Villemain, 'Greg. VII.', ii. 110, seqq. The scandal was, as we have seen, alluded to in the letter of the bishops from Worms. Waltram mentions it, but does not seem to believe it, although he censures Matilda's masculine conduct as inconsistent with St. Paul's view of female duty (ap. Freher, i. 219). Lambert refutes the imputations. (257). "Matilde fu la Beatrice di Dante del Romano pontificato." Tosti, 130.

[g] Floto, ii. 125-8.

[h] Berthold, 288-9; Bonizo, l. viii.; Card. de Aragonia, ap. Murat. iii. 307. Luden, on mere conjecture, thinks that Gregory had no intention of going to Germany, but had agreed, at Matilda's request, to receive Henry at Canossa (ix. 106). Abbot Hugh had visited Henry at Spires, and, having then gone to Rome with a view of interceding for him, had been put to penance for his intercourse with the king while excommunicate. (Berthold, l. c.). The letter of Henry III. asking him to be godfather to his son is in Dacher. Spicileg. iii. 443, where the index wrongly attributes it to Henry V. See Giesebr. ii. 650.

hands of Henry's enemies, and had been obliged to pay heavily for leave to pursue their journey. On their arrival Gregory ordered them to be confined in solitary cells, with scanty fare; but after a few days he summoned them into his presence, and absolved them on condition that, until the king should be reconciled, they should hold no intercourse with him, except for the purpose of persuading him to submission.[1] For Henry himself a severer treatment was reserved.

On arriving before Canossa, the king obtained an interview with Matilda, and prevailed on her, with Adelaide, Hugh of Cluny, and other influential persons, to entreat that the pope would not rashly believe the slanders of his enemies, and would grant him absolution. Gregory answered that, if the king believed himself innocent, he ought to wait for the council which had been appointed, and there to submit himself to the pope's impartial judgment. The mediators represented the urgency of the time—that the year of grace was nearly expired; that the hostile princes were eagerly waiting to catch at the expected forfeiture of the kingdom; that, if the king might for the present receive absolution, he was willing to consent to any terms or to any inquiry. At length the pope, as if relenting, proposed that Henry, in proof of his penitence, should surrender to him the ensigns of royalty, and should acknowledge that by his offences he had rendered himself unworthy of the kingdom. The envoys, shocked at the hardness of these conditions, entreated Gregory not to "break the bruised reed"; and in condescension to their importunities he promised to grant the king an interview.[k]

But before this interview a deeper humiliation was to be endured. Henry was admitted, alone and unattended, within the second of the three Jan. 25.

[1] Lambert, 257-8. [k] Ib. 258.

walls which surrounded the castle.[l] He was dressed in the coarse woollen garb of a penitent; his feet were bare; and in this state, without food, he remained from morning till evening exposed to the piercing cold of that fearful winter. A second and a third day were spent in the same manner; Gregory himself tells us that all within the castle cried out against his harshness, as being not the severity of an apostle, but barbarous and tyrannical cruelty.[m] At last Henry, almost beside himself with the intensity of bodily and mental suffering, sought a meeting with Matilda and the abbot of Cluny in a chapel of the castle, and persuaded them to become sureties for him to the pope;[n] and on the fourth day he was admitted to Gregory's presence. Numb with cold, bareheaded and barefooted, the king, a man of tall and remarkably noble person,[o] prostrated himself with a profusion of tears, and then stood submissive before the pope, whose small and slight form was now withered with austerities and bent with age.[p] Even Gregory's sternness was moved, and he too shed tears.[q] After many words, the terms of absolution were stated. Henry was to appear before a diet of the German princes, at which the pope intended to preside. He was to submit to an investigation of his conduct, and, if found guilty by the laws of the church, was to forfeit his kingdom. In the meantime, he was to refrain from all use of the royal insignia, and from all exercise of the royal authority; his subjects were to be free from their allegiance to him; he was to hold no intercourse with his excommunicated counsellors; he was to yield implicit obedience to the pope in future, and, if in any respect he should violate the prescribed

Jan. 28.

[l] For a description of Canossa in 1864, by Dean Stanley, see Milman, ed. 3, vol. iv. 97.

[m] Ep. iv. 12.

[n] Donizo, ii. c. 1 (Pertz, xii. 381).

[o] Otbert, c. 1 (Pertz, xii. 271); Floto ii. 148.

[p] Donizo, ii. c. 1; Milman, iii. 72.

[q] Berthold, A.D. 1077; Floto, ii. 132.

conditions, he was to lose all further hope of grace.[r] The king was brought so low that even these terms were thankfully accepted; but Gregory would not trust him unless the abbot of Cluny, with other persons of high ecclesiastical and secular dignity, undertook to be sureties for his observance of them.[s]

The pope then proceeded to the celebration of mass, and, after the consecration, desired Henry to draw near. "I," he said, "have been charged by you and your adherents with simony in obtaining my office, and with offences which would render me unworthy of it. It would be easy to disprove these charges by the evidence of many who have known me throughout my life; but I prefer to rely on the witness of God. Here is the Lord's body; may this either clear me from all suspicion if I am innocent, or, if guilty, may God strike me with sudden death!" A thrill of anxiety ran throughout the spectators; the pope amidst their breathless silence underwent the awful ordeal, and they burst into loud applause. Then he again addressed the king—"Do, my son, as you have seen me do. The princes of Germany daily beset me with accusations against you, so many and so heinous that they would render you unfit not only for empire, but for the communion of the church, and even for the common intercourse of life; and for these they pray that you may be brought to trial. But human judgment is fallible, and falsehood and truth are often confounded. If, therefore, you know yourself to be guiltless, take this remaining portion of the Lord's

[r] Lambert, 259; Promissio Henrici, ap. Pertz, Leges, ii. 50. Waltram (161) remarks on the insidious nature of the terms. Ranke points out that the "Promissio" says nothing about the suspension of royalty, etc., but merely that the emperor would in his differences with the German princes "do justice according to the pope's judgment, or make agreement according to his council"; and he supposes the rest of Lambert's statement to be the monastic version. Abhandl. d. Berl. Acad. A.D. 1854, p. 457.

[s] Lambert, 259.

body, that so God's judgment may approve your innocence."

The ordeal was unequal. The charges from which the pope had purged himself were distinct and palpable; those against the king were unnamed, infinite in variety, extending over his whole life, many of them such as he would have met, not with a denial but with explanation and apology. He shuddered at the sudden proposal, and, after a brief consultation with his friends, told the pope that such a trial, in the absence of his accusers, would not be convincing; he therefore prayed that the matter might be deferred until a diet should meet for the consideration of his case. Gregory assented, and, on leaving the chapel, invited the king to his table, where he conversed with him in a friendly tone, and gave him advice as to his future conduct.[t]

While the king remained in the castle, the bishop of Zeitz was sent out to absolve, in the pope's name, those who had held intercourse with Henry during his excommunication. His message was received with derision. The Italians cried out that they cared nothing for the excommunication of a man who had been justly excommunicated by all the bishops of Italy—a simoniac, a

[t] Lambert, 259-60. As to the administration of the eucharist, the ancient writers are not agreed. Bonizo (l. viii.), Donizo (ii. 144), and Waltram (161), say that the pope gave it to Henry; Berthold (290), that he offered it, and that Henry declined it as being unworthy. Gregory himself does not mention this point (Ep. iv. 12). Lambert's story is followed by Leo (i. 458), by Stenzel (i. 409-11), and by Dean Milman, who gives the scene very strikingly (iii. 71-4); cf. Annal. Palith. ap. Pertz, xvi. 72. Luden (ix. 112-15, and notes) and Döllinger (ii. 131) deny the truth of it, apparently from a feeling that it is not creditable to Gregory. Giesebrecht is also inclined to disbelieve it, although he supposes that such a story was told at the time by Gregory's partisans in Germany, who represented the refusal of the eucharist as a proof of Henry's guilt (iii. 401-2, 1134). See Ranke, in Abhandl. d. Berl. Academie, A.D. 1854, p. 457. On the wickedness involved in the pope's alleged proposal, Stenzel and Dean Milman speak strongly; while Tosti (212) and Hefele (v. 89-90) argue that he did not give the sacrament the character of an ordeal. The protestant Leo's justification of Gregory (i. 459) is hardly to be paralleled by anything in Baronius.

murderer, an adulterer. They charged Henry with having humbled them all by his abasement; he had thought only of himself, he had made peace with the public enemy, and had deserted those who, for his sake, had exposed themselves to hostility and danger. They spoke of setting up his son, the young Conrad, as king —of carrying the prince to Rome for coronation, and choosing another pope.[u] Henry, on joining his partisans, found that a change had come over their dispositions towards him. The chiefs returned to their homes without asking his permission; and as he marched along, the general dissatisfaction was apparent. No cheers or marks of honour greeted him; the provisions which were supplied to him were scanty and coarse; and at night he was obliged to lodge in the suburbs of towns, as the inhabitants would not admit him within their walls. The bishops, who were especially indignant, held a meeting at Reggio, and combined to excite their flocks against him.[x]

It is said that, when some Saxon envoys expressed their alarm in consequence of Henry's absolution, the pope endeavoured to reassure them in these words—"Be not uneasy, for I will send him back to you more culpable than ever." The story is generally discredited, on the ground that, even if Gregory had been capable of the profound wickedness which it implies, he would not have been so indiscreet as to avow his craft.[y] Yet it is hardly conceivable that he should have expected the king to fulfil the engagements which had been so sternly exacted from him in his distress. While the abasement to which Henry had been forced to stoop greatly exceeded all that could have been anticipated, the grace

[u] Lambert, 260-1; Voigt, 442-3.

[x] Lambert, 261.

[y] Waltram (ap. Freher, i. 161) is the only authority for the story. See Schmidt, ii. 317; Schröckh, xxv. 493; Planck, IV. i. 183-4; Stenzel, ii. 23; Milman, iii. 74.

which had been granted to him was far short of his expectations. He was still at the mercy of the offended princes of Germany; his royalty, instead of being restored, seemed to be placed hopelessly beyond his reach. And the temper of the Italians—the enthusiasm with which they had received him, their burning animosity against his great enemy—proved to him that his humiliation had been needless. Although for a time he behaved with an appearance of submission to the pope—partly out of deference to his mother, who visited him at Piacenza [z]—he wished to find some pretext for breaking with Gregory, and assured the Italians that he had submitted to him only for reasons of temporary necessity, but that he was now resolved to take vengeance for the indignities to which he had been subjected.[a] They flocked again to his standard; he resumed the insignia of royalty; Liemar of Bremen, with his excommunicated advisers, again appeared at his side, and with them were many who had avoided him during his excommunication. Large contributions of money poured in from his adherents, and he again felt himself strong.[b] He asked the pope to allow him to be crowned at Monza, as if his absolution had restored him to the kingdom of Italy; but the request was refused.[c] He then invited Gregory to a conference at Mantua; but Matilda, acting either on information or on suspicion of some treacherous design, persuaded the pope to avoid the risk of danger.[d]

[z] Bonizo, l. viii.; Floto, ii. 130. Agnes died Dec. 14, 1077. Berthold, 303.

[a] Lambert. 261; Stenzel, ii. 416.

[b] Lambert, 262; Schröckh, xxv. 497.

[c] P. Bernr. 86; Voigt, 444. Bp. Hefele (v. 92) says that Henry caused himself to be crowned with the iron crown, probably at Pavia; but this seems hardly to lie in the words of his authority, Paul of Bernried: "Eâ vice simulatâ obedientiâ apud Moytiam regalia insignia non usurpavit; quæ tamen non multo post contra bannum domini papæ resumere, et interdicta regni gubernacula usurpare, non timuit."

[d] Donizo (ii. 134-46) speaks as if it were certain that Henry meant to seize the pope; but it seems to be merely a suspicion. See Luden, ix. 125; Milman, iii. 77; Hefele, v. 92.

Gregory remained at Canossa, or in its neighbourhood, until the month of August;[e] and during his residence there, the countess bequeathed her inheritance to the Roman see[f]—a donation which was afterwards renewed, and which, although it never fully took effect, contributed much in the sequel to the temporal power of the popes.[g]

The princes of Germany considered that Henry, by going into Italy, had broken the engagements which he had made with them at Tribur, and they resolved to proceed to further measures.[h] A diet was summoned to meet at Forchheim, in Franconia, in March 1077. The king excused himself from attending it, on the ground that, being on his first visit to Italy, he was occupied with the affairs of that country, and was unwilling to offend his Italian subjects by hastily leaving them.[i] The pope declined the invitation, on the plea that Henry refused to grant him a safe-conduct; but he was represented at the meeting by legates. It was his wish to keep matters in suspense until the king, by some breach of the conditions on which he had been absolved, should give a clear pretext for deposing him; and the legates were instructed accordingly. They were to endeavour that, if the state of the country would permit, the election of a new king should be deferred until their master could himself go into Germany; but if the princes were bent on taking it in hand at once, they were not to oppose them. To the princes he wrote that they should carry on the government of the country, but should refrain from any more decided step until

[e] Berthold, 291.

[f] Donizo, ii. 173. See too Chron. Casin. iii. 49, with note in Pertz; Tosti, 221, seqq.

[g] Mosh. ii. 340.

[h] P. Bernr. 88.

[i] Lambert, 262. At this point Lambert's history ends. For skill in narration he is allowed to be the chief of mediæval historians; but his authority in some points has of late been seriously questioned, as by Ranke (Abhandl. d. Berliner Acad. 1854). Giesebrecht, and Floto.

the case of Henry should be fully examined in his own presence.[k]

But the Germans were furious against Henry, and would endure no delay. The legates, after expressing the pope's feeling, said that it was for the princes to decide what would be best for their country, and were silent; and Rudolf, duke of Swabia, formerly one of Henry's chief supporters, and connected both with him and with Bertha by having married a sister of each, was chosen as king.[l] The first to vote for him was the primate Siegfried, whose eagerness to secure the tithes of Thuringia had contributed so largely to Henry's errors and unpopularity.[m] The legates confirmed the choice, and proposed conditions for the new sovereign. He was to discourage simony and was to grant freedom of election to sees; and the kingdom was not to be hereditary, but elective—a provision intended to make its possessors feel the necessity of keeping well both with the pope and with the princes.[n] Rudolf was crowned at Mentz on the 26th of March by Siegfried and the archbishop of Magdeburg. On the day of the coronation a bloody affray took place between the populace and Rudolf's soldiers; and this inauguration of the new reign was too truly ominous of its sequel.[o] Siegfried was driven from his city, never to return to it.[p]

March 15.

By the violent measure of setting up a rival king the

[k] P. Bernr. 88; Voigt, 455, 459.

[l] P. Bernr. 93-4; Berthold, 292.

[m] Ib.

[n] Bruno, c. 91; Voigt, 457; Giesebr. iii. 433.

[o] P. Bernr. 96; Bernold, Ann. 1077; Ekkehard, p. 202; Bruno, c. 92; Berthold, p. 292. Rudolf was hardly a man to do much credit to the choice of the rigid ecclesiastical party—"Perjuria ejus facile convincimus," says Wenrich, in the name of Bp. Dietrich of Verdun, "sed non facile numeramus; homicidia ejus digitorum ostensione adhuc recensere possumus. Tres uxores ejus, quas aperte solemni nuptiarum apparatu duxit, eodem simul tempore viventes et novimus et nominamus" (Martene, Thes. i. 225). He had also been continually in conflict with the bishops of his territory. Giesebr. iii. 434.

[p] Ekkehard, 202; Sigebert, A.D. 1077. He died in 1084. Annal. Saxo, 721.

feeling of loyalty was reawakened in many who had long been discontented with Henry's government, and, when he returned into Germany, his force increased as he went on. He enriched himself, and found means of rewarding his adherents, by confiscating the estates of his chief opponents.[q] With Rudolf were the mass of the Swabians, Saxons, and Thuringians; with Henry were Franconia and Bavaria. Yet in countries where the majority favoured one of the rivals, the other also had adherents, so that the division penetrated even into the bosom of families.[r] The bishops were for the most part on Henry's side; many abbeys sent their contingents to swell his army, and the populations of the towns were generally with him, out of gratitude for the privileges which they had received from him, and for the protection which he had afforded them against the tyranny of princes and nobles.[s] For three years the contest was carried on; the land was desolated by the ravages of war, especially by the outrages of the barbarous and half-heathen Bohemians, whom Henry had called to his aid, and who revelled in acts of profanity and sacrilege, of lust and cruelty.[t] Three great battles were fought; at Melrichstadt, in August 1078, and at Fladenheim (or Flarchheim) in January 1080, Rudolf was declared the victor; but so slight was his superiority and so severe was his loss that the victories were little more than nominal.[u] In the meantime the anarchy of Germany was frightful. Neither Henry nor Rudolf dared to execute justice from fear of alienating their followers. Violence met with no check, nobles and knights built castles and lived by robbery, and the wretched people were ground to the dust by oppression of every kind.[x] The north of Italy too was in a

[q] Berthold, 295-8.
[r] Voigt, 465; Stenzel, i. 424.
[s] Voigt, 462-5; see Floto, ii. c. 26.
[t] Berthold, 295-313; Bernold, 434; Milman, iii. 83.
[u] Bruno, cc. 96-102; Voigt, 491-4.
[x] Stenzel, i. 194.

state of continual agitation. Guibert of Ravenna and Tedald of Milan were indefatigable in their exertions against Gregory. Imperialist and papalist bishops fought for the possession of sees, and strove to outbid each other by grants of privileges to their people.[y]

Gregory found that he had gone too far—that Henry possessed a strength which the pope had not suspected when at Canossa he subjected him to such humiliation as could never be forgiven; and he was displeased that the princes, by electing Rudolf, had taken into their own hands the determination which he had wished to reserve for himself. During the war he refrained from showing any decided favour to either party. It was in vain that Rudolf entreated his recognition, and that Henry urged him to excommunicate the rebel leader, although Gregory said that he would do so unless Rudolf should be able to justify his conduct.[z] He gave to each of them alike the title of king; he assured the envoys of each that he was anxious to do justice—that he would go into Germany and decide between them; and he asked both to grant him a safe-conduct. His legates went from Henry to Rudolf, and from Rudolf to Henry; they took money from each, and spoke to each in terms of encouragement,[a] while they were instructed by their master, if either of the rivals should be contumacious, to anathematize him, and to adjudge the kingdom to his more submissive opponent.[b]

The Saxons were indignant at this wavering conduct, so widely different from their expectations. In five letters,[c] written in a plain and downright tone of remonstrance and with a scanty observance of the usual forms,

[y] Voigt, 486.

[z] Ep. ix. 133; Bonizo, 816-17; Voigt, 473. Luden thinks that Henry's request was made, not with any expectation of its being granted, but in order that Gregory might appear before the world as an abettor of the rebellion. ix. 123. [a] Bruno, 116.

[b] Ep. iv. 23-4; v. 15; vi. 1; Voigt, 471-2. [c] Bruno, 107-15.

they represent to Gregory the sufferings which they had brought on themselves by what they had supposed to be an obedience to his instructions. They tell him that they had relied on the firmness of Rome; that, after having urged them into danger, he had deserted them; that they are too simple to understand the subtle and equivocal policy by which he acknowledged two kings at once, and seemed to pay greater honour to him whom he had deposed than to the king whose election they had believed to be warranted by the papal sanction.[d]

Gregory in reply endeavoured to justify himself by dwelling on the exigencies of the time, and on his wish to do impartial justice. He denied that he had instigated the election of Rudolf; he disowned the acts of his legates who had confirmed that election and had pronounced a fresh excommunication against Henry at Goslar in November 1077.[e] But the Germans treated his excuses as subterfuges; they told him that he ought either to have refrained from proceeding against Henry or to follow up his acts by openly aiding them. They beseech him to have regard to his own reputation, and to the effusion of blood which must lie at his door if he should continue his course of indecision.[f]

At length the tidings of the battle of Fladenheim (Jan. 27, 1080) roused the pope to a bolder proceeding. At the council which was held in the following Lent, and which was the most fully attended March 7, 1080.

[d] It is generally said that Gregory allowed the first two letters to remain unanswered; but Stenzel (Beilage x.) examines the order, and shows that his letter (Ep. vi. 1, July 1, 1078) is an answer to the *first*.

[e] See Berthold, 302; Bernold, 435; Greg. Epp. vi. 1; vii. 32; ix 28; Hefele, v. 126.

[f] Alexandre Noël attempts to give a peculiar colour to Gregory's conduct, by arguing that he had not intended to depose Henry, but only to suspend him (t. xiii. Diss. ii. artt. 4-8). I cannot see ground for this view. Gregory went too far, and wished to recall what he had done. The legates at Forchheim did not exceed their commission, although the result was different from what he had expected o wished.

of all his councils, he refused to allow Henry's envoys a hearing in answer to the charges which Rudolf's envoys had advanced; he repeated his threats against all who should give or should receive investiture; and he renewed the excommunication and deposition of the king in very remarkable terms. The sentence, as before, is addressed to St. Peter and St. Paul. Gregory calls the apostles to witness as to the means by which he had attained his office, and as to his conduct in the administration of it. He recounts the course of his dealings with Henry—the king's offences, his excommunication, his absolution, his breach of the promises which he had made at Canossa; the election of Rudolf, which, the pope solemnly protests, was not undertaken by his advice; the calamities which had followed in Germany, and of which he charges the guilt on Henry. He then again declared the king to be deposed, forbade all Christians to obey him, and anathematized him with his abettors. He prayed that Henry might never prosper in war; in the name and with the blessing of the apostles, he bestowed the kingdom of Germany on Rudolf, and promised to all who should faithfully adhere to the new king absolution for all their sins; and he prayed them that, as they had power to bind and to loose in heaven—as they judged angels—so they would now show to kings, princes, and all the world, that the dignities of this life also were in their disposal. "Do you," the form concluded, "so exercise your judgment on the aforesaid Henry, as that all may know that he shall fall, not by chance, but by your power. May he be confounded unto repentance, that his spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord!"[g] Gregory even ventured to assume the character of a prophet; he foretold (and he staked his credibility on the result) that within a year Henry would either be dead, or deposed

[g] Hard. vi. 1587-92.

and utterly powerless.[h] And it is said that he sent into Germany a crown with an inscription signifying that it was the gift of the Saviour to St. Peter and of St. Peter to Rudolf.[i]

On hearing of the pope's proceedings, Henry resolved to meet them by a measure no less decided. At Whitsuntide he assembled a council of his bishops at Mentz for the choice of a new pope.[k] With a view of obtaining the concurrence of the Lombards, the election was adjourned to a council which was to be held at Brixen, and the German prelates engaged themselves to accept the decision of their brethren. At Brixen, Gregory was condemned as a disturber of the church and of the empire—as a patron of murder, perjury, and sacrilege, a Berengarian heretic, a necromancer, and a demoniac; and Guibert of Ravenna was elected pope, under the name of Clement III.[l]

The armies of Henry and his rival met once more, on the bank of the Elster. The contest was long and obstinate; each side prevailed by turns; and, although at last the victory was with the

Oct. 15, 1080.

[h] Bonizo, 819 (who tries to explain this away); Benno, ed. Goldast. 4; Sigebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wendover, ii. 21. See Baron. 1080. 50; Bayle, art. *Grégoire VII.*, note N.

[i] 'Petra dedit Petro, Petrus diadema Rudulpho."

Sigebert (Ann. 1077) wrongly puts this immediately after Rudolf's election. See Voigt, 530; Neand. vii. 162; Giese II. ii. 28.) It has been generally sai that Gregory was induced to espouse Rudolf's cause openly by a mistaken belief that the battle of Fladenheim was decisive against Henry (Voigt, 516-18). Stenzel, however, ascribes his proceedings to an opposite motive—to a knowledge that Rudolf's cause was nearly desperate, and could only be assisted by the most vigorous measures. (i. 459. Comp. Bowden, ii. 265-8.) Luden says that he felt it necessary to act, in order to redeem his reputation, which had suffered by his long indecision. ix. 170-4.

[k] See a letter from Hutzmann, bishop of Spires, to Gregory, in Hahn, 'Collectio Monumentorum,' i. 201.

[l] Ekkehard, Ann. 1080; Pertz, Leges, ii. 51; Voigt, 531-4. We may in some measure understand how some of the offences charged on Gregory were constructively brought home to him from Guy of Ferrara, ap. Pertz, xii. 172. Benno, bishop of Osnaburg, is said to have escaped the necessity of voting on this occasion by hiding himself in the hollow of an altar. Vita, ib. 72.

Saxons, the death of their leader converted it into a virtual defeat. The fatal wound is said to have been given by Godfrey of Bouillon—afterwards the hero of the first crusade.[m] A stroke from the sword of another cut off Rudolf's right hand, and it was reported that the dying man remorsefully acknowledged this as a just punishment, since with that hand he had sworn fealty to Henry.[n] The pope's prediction of Henry's death was falsified; according to one version of the story, he had prophesied the death or ruin of the *pretended* king, and Heaven had now declared that the king of Gregory's own choice was the pretender.[o]

Henry offered peace to the Saxons, but they answered that they could not act without the pope; and the king, in the belief that he might safely leave their internal discords to work in his interest, resolved to march on Rome.[p]

The prospect which Gregory had before him might well have alarmed him. Henry was stronger than ever, and his alliance was sought by the emperor of the east, who wished to make common cause with him against the Normans. The pope could expect no aid from Philip of France. William of England and Normandy, although Gregory was assiduous in his civilities to him and to his queen, remained cool and uninterested. As he, alone among the sovereigns of his time, found Gregory tractable, he had no motive for taking part with the anti-pope; and

[m] Will. Tyr. ix. 8 (Patrol. cci.). This is, however, doubtful. Giesebr. iii. 1150.

[n] Ekkehard, p. 204; Voigt, 538-40. The Chronicle of Petershausen (written in the middle of the twelfth century) does not mention the loss of Rudolf's hand, and represents him as saying, "Jam non curo de meâ morte si eam excipio cum triumphi honore" (Patrol. cxliii. 334). The hand is still shown in Merseburg cathedral. (Gregorov. iv. 212.) As to the battle, see Giesebr. iii. 1049-50.

[o] Sigebert, Ann. 1080; Rog. Wendover, ii. 21. Giesebrecht quotes from Wenrich, in Martene Thes. i. 218—"Videant, tot prophetico spiritu factas denuntiationes qualis tandem effectus probaverit." iii. 1149 (cf. Wenr. l. c. 222-3.)

[p] Voigt, 558; Giesebr. iii. 523.

he was not disposed to embroil himself in Gregory's quarrels.[q] The countess Matilda was the only ally who could be relied on. Her devotion to the papal cause was unbounded; she placed her forces at Gregory's disposal, she sheltered his adherents in her Alpine fortresses, and by her heroic energy, aided by the counsels, the pen, and the active exertions of Anselm of Lucca, she kept up the spirit of his party.[r] By the sale, not only of her own precious ornaments, but of those which belonged to her churches, she repeatedly raised large sums, with which she enabled him to purchase for a time the support of the venal and fickle Romans.[s] But her forces were altogether unequal to cope with those of Henry; and the pope was urged by his friends to make peace with the king and to bestow on him the imperial crown.[t]

Gregory was undaunted and immoveable in his resolution; but a change had come over his object. It was no longer a question of things, but of persons. He had professed to break with Henry for the maintenance of certain abuses, and he was now willing to tolerate those very abuses in order to humble the king. All means were to be taken that men should not be driven to Henry's side.[u] The legates in Germany were instructed to permit the ministrations of concubinary priests, on account of the hardness of the times, and the fewness of clergy.[x] If the bishop of Osnaburg should be disposed to abandon Henry, they were to deal easily with him in a suit as to tithes.[y] The pope wrote to Robert, count of Flanders, in terms of great courtesy, professing, out of a wish to keep him in the unity of the church, to forgive the language which he had used against the apostolic

[q] Giesbr. iii. 552, 559.
[r] Donizo, ii. c. 2; Giesebr. iii. 539.
[s] Donizo, i. 1. See Muratori, v. 385.
[t] Voigt, 554.
[u] Giesel. II. i. 302.
[x] Ep. ix. 3.
[y] Ib. 10.

see.[z] The legate in France, Hugh, bishop of Die, was reproved for unseasonably enforcing the rigour of the canons. He was ordered to restore some Norman bishops whom he had deposed for refusing to attend a synod. He was to absolve certain knights who had impropriated tithes and had taken the part of simoniac and concubinary clergymen.[a] The bishops of Paris and Chartres, against whom Hugh had proceeded in a summary manner, were treated by the pope with indulgence.[b] Above all, the legate was to beware of irritating the king of England, whom Gregory, although he professed himself not blind to his faults, declared to be far more worthy of approbation than other kings.[c] To every one but Henry the pope breathed conciliation; and in this spirit he sought an alliance with the Normans of the south—selfish, faithless, profane, and sacrilegious robbers as he well knew them to be.

The power and the ambition of the Normans had been continually on the increase. Robert Guiscard had been suspected as an accomplice in the plot of Cencius,[d] and had for some years been under excommunication for his invasions of the patrimony of St. Peter;[e] but Gregory, by the mediation of Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, now eagerly patched up a treaty with him. Guiscard swore to defend the pope; he was released from his excommunication without any profession of penitence; and, instead of exacting restitution from him, Gregory added to a renewal of the grants of Nicolas and Alexander the following remarkable words: —"But as for the territory which you unjustly hold, we now patiently bear with you, trusting in Almighty God and in your goodness, that hereafter your behaviour with

June 29, 1080.

[z] Ep. ix. 33.
[a] Ib. 5.
[b] Ib. 15-16.
[c] Ib. 5.
[d] P. Bernr. 48.
[e] Hard. vi. 1578; Pertz, ix. 280; Ep. ii. 9.

respect to it will be such, to the honour of God and of St. Peter, as it becomes both you to show and me to accept, without peril either to your soul or to mine."[f] It is said that, in consideration of the expected aid, he even promised Guiscard the imperial crown.[g]

In Germany, the partisans of Rudolf set up Count Herman of Salm or Luxemburg as his successor. Gregory instructed his legates to see that no one should be chosen who would not be obedient to the Roman see, and sent them a form of oath to be taken by the new king, which reduced the kingdom, and consequently the empire, to a fief of the church.[h] But Herman was unable to gain any considerable strength, and Henry was safe in disregarding him.

Henry's successes revived the disposition to ask whether the pope were justified in deposing sovereigns; and, in answer to a renewed inquiry from Herman, bishop of Metz, Gregory laid down more fully than before his views of the papal authority.[i] He cites the same passages of Scripture on which he had relied in his former letter. He magnifies the sacerdotal power above that of temporal sovereigns. The instances of Theodosius and Childeric are reinforced by a fabulous excommunication of Arcadius by pope Innocent,[k] and by a forgery, apparently of recent date, in which Gregory the Great is represented as threatening to deprive of his dignity any king or other potentate who should invade the monastery of St. Medard at Autun.[l] But the most remarkable words of the letter are those in which the

March 15, 1081.

[f] Hard. vi. 1451.

[g] Guil. Appul. iv. 31. This seems very questionable.

[h] Ep. ix. 3; Schmidt, ii. 296; Giesebr. iii. 530. The election of Herman seems to have taken place at Ochsenfurt, on the Main, in the beginning of August, 1081. Ib. 535, 1152.

[i] Ep. viii. 21.

[k] Hard. vi. 1471, e. See Waltram, ap. Freher, i. 164; Barrow, 29.

[l] Hard. vi. 1470. The forgeries are in Greg. Ep. xiii. 8-9 (Patrol. lxxvii.) Append. ad. Epp., ib. 1330. See Gieseler, II. ii. 8.

pope contrasts the origin of secular with that of ecclesiastical power. "Shall not," he asks, "the dignity invented by men of this world, who even knew not God, be subject to that dignity which the providence of Almighty God hath invented to His own honour, and hath in compassion bestowed on the world? Who can be ignorant that kings and dukes took their beginning from those who, not knowing God, by their pride, their rapine, perfidy, murders, in short by almost every sort of wickedness, under the instigation of the prince of this world, the devil, have in blind ambition and intolerable presumption aimed at domination over other men, their equals?" [m] The bold assertions of this letter called forth many replies from the controversialists of the opposite party, both during the lifetime of Gregory and after his death.[n]

In the spring of 1081 Henry descended on Italy. Gregory, in a letter to Desiderius of Monte Cassino, speaks of him as being at Ravenna with a small force, and expresses a confident belief that he will not obtain either supplies or recruits in his further advance. "If we would comply with his impiety," says the pope, "never has any one of our predecessors received such ample and devoted service as he is ready to pay us. But we will rather die than yield." [o] The king's army, however, (although he had been obliged to leave a large force

[m] Hard. vi. 1471. "Are we reading a journalist of Paris in 1791?" asks Dean Milman (iii. 94). We have already had a less explicit passage of the same sort in the earlier letter (p. 316). Honorius of Autun cites Cain as a type of the secular authority, and Abel of the ecclesiastical ('De Apostolico et Augusto,' c. 1, Patrol. clxxii.). See the developments of such ideas by the Jesuits, in Giesel. III. ii. 623-8.

[n] *E.g.*, Wenrich, writing in the name of Dietrich of Verdun (Martene, Thesaur. i. 214, seqq.); Sigebert of Gemblours (see Pertz, vi. 272; Giesel. II. ii. 16); Waltram of Naumburg (in Goldast. Apolog. pro Hen. IV., or in Freher. t. i.); Hugh of Fleury, 'De Regiâ Potestate et Sacerdotali Dignitate' (Patrol. clxiii.; see especially 939-41). Comp. Nat. Alex. t. XIII. Diss. ii. 10.

[o] Ep. ix. 10, April 28.

behind him as a safeguard to the peace of Germany [p]), was far stronger than Gregory represented it to be. He ravaged Matilda's territories, and laid siege to her capital, Florence; but, finding that the capture was likely to detain him too long, he relinquished the attempt, and on Whitsun-eve appeared before the walls of Rome.[q] As he had expected the city to open its gates, he was unprovided with the means of assaulting it, and the siege lasted nearly three years — the king withdrawing during the unhealthy seasons, while such of his troops as remained on duty suffered severely from the climate.[r] Gregory, although shut up in his city, and even there regarded with dislike by the mass of the inhabitants, who were influenced by Henry's largesses, and ascribed to the pope all the sufferings which they endured on account of the siege, abated nothing either of his pretensions or of his activity;[s] he held his synods as usual, he renewed his canons and his anathemas against the imperialists and their practices, he continued, by his legates and correspondence, to superintend the affairs of the church in foreign and distant countries.[t] When Henry, in the summer of 1083, had gained possession of the Leonine city, the pope resisted all the importunities of the Roman nobles, clergy, and people, who endeavoured to persuade him to a reconciliation; he would consent to no other terms than that the king should resign his dignity and should submit to penance.[u] All attempts at negotiation were fruitless. The pope held a last council, at which he is described as having spoken with the voice not of a man but of an angel; and, without naming Henry, he anathematized him among those who had intercepted bishops

[p] Hefele, v. 146.

[q] Benzo, l. v.; Voigt, 561. His proclamation to the clergy and people of Rome at this time is in the Cod. Udalrici, No. 187. See Giesebr. iii. 532, 1151.

[r] Voigt, 578.

[s] Pet. Pisan. ap. Watterich, i. 306

[t] Voigt, 522-3.

[u] Ib. 577.

on their way to the assembly.[x] The Romans, it is said, in order to obtain a cessation of hostilities, swore to Henry that either Gregory or another pope should crown him by a certain day. Gregory, on hearing of this, was indignant, but discovered an evasion: if Henry would submit, he would crown him as emperor; if not, he would let down a crown to him from the tower of St. Angelo, accompanied by his curse.[y] At length the Romans, weary of the siege, made terms with the king, and ten days before Easter 1084 he became master of the greater part of the city. Guibert summoned Gregory to a council, but the invitation was disregarded.[z] The antipope was formally enthroned in the Lateran church on Palm Sunday, and on Easter-day performed in St. Peter's the imperial coronation of Henry and Bertha.[a]

March 21, 1084.

Gregory took refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and a few of his partisans, chiefly nobles, held out in their fortified houses. In his distress the pope had entreated the aid which Guiscard was bound by his feudal obligations to render; but the Norman was engaged in an expedition which his daring ambition had led him to undertake against the Greek empire,[b] and during his absence Henry, who had entered into an alliance with Alexius Comnenus and had received a subsidy from him,[c] exerted himself to

[x] Bernold, 438; Voigt, 580.

[y] Bernold, 438 (Pertz, viii. 461). The story seems suspicious, not so much on account of the dishonesty which it imputes to Gregory, as of its childishness; but it is generally received, as by Voigt (581), Stenzel (i. 485), and Floto (ii. 260), although Gregorovius (iv. 225) and Hefele (v. 156) doubt it. Giesebrecht supposes that Gregory spoke of giving the crown with his curse, and that the rest was added by the Roman nobles in repeating his words to Henry. iii. 552.

[z] Benzo, l. vii. Prol.

[a] There is some confusion between an incomplete inauguration of Guibert at Whitsuntide 1083, and the more formal ceremony in 1084. See Bernold, p. 438; Pagi, xvii. 544; Voigt, 587-8; Stenzel, i. 486; Jaffé, 444.

[b] Anna Comnena, i. 15; iv.-v., Malaterra, ii. 24, seqq.; Guil. Appul. iv. 181. See Gibbon, v. 351-2; Pagi, xvii. 553.

[c] Anna Comn. iii. p. 93; v. 3; Giesebr. iii. 550.

create an interest in the south of Italy. Guiscard, on returning from the east, was occupied for a time in quelling the opposition which had been thus excited;[d] but in Gregory's extremity the long-desired aid arrived. Guiscard had sent before him a large sum of money, which the pope had employed in purchasing the favour of the Romans;[e] and the Norman chief himself now appeared at the head of 6000 horse and 30,000 foot—a wild and motley host, in which were mingled adventurers of many nations, and even a large number of unbelieving Saracens.[f] Henry, apprehending no danger, had sent away a great part of his troops, and, as the remainder were unequal to encounter these unexpected enemies, he retired at their approach, taking with him forty hostages, and assuring his Roman friends that he would soon return.[g] The gates were closed against the Normans, but some of them found an entrance by an old aqueduct, close to the gate of St. Laurence, and admitted the rest into the city. For three days Rome was subjected to the horrors of a sack. Butchery, plunder, lust, were uncontrolled. The inhabitants, driven to despair by these outrages, rose on their assailants, and Guiscard, to quell their resistance, ordered the city to be set on fire. The conflagration which followed raged far and wide, and has left its permanent effects in the desolation which reigns over a large portion of ancient Rome. The Romans were at length subdued; multitudes were carried off by the Normans as prisoners, and many thousands were sold for slaves.[h]

May 1084.

Gregory was again master of his capital. Guiscard, immediately after having effected an entrance, had carried him in triumph from the fortress

May 29.

[d] Giannone, l. x. c. 5; Luden, ix. 194.
[e] Lupus Protospath. Ann. 1083 (Pertz, v.).
[f] Guil Appul. iv. 565.
[g] Malaterra, iii. 37; Voigt, 590.
[h] Bonizo, 818; Bernold, 441; Landulf sen., iii. 33; Voigt, 591-2; Gregorov. iv. 233-40.

of St. Angelo to the Lateran palace, and, falling at his feet, had begged his blessing. But the pope was sick of the Romans, of whose baseness and corruption he had had so much experience; he was unwilling to look on the ruins of his city; he shrank from the reproaches which were likely to be directed against him as the author of the late calamities, and felt that he could not trust himself to his people if the protection of the Normans were withdrawn.[l] He therefore left Rome in company with his allies, and, after a visit to Monte Cassino, retired to Salerno. There, in the month of July, he held a synod, at which he renewed the anathemas against Henry and the antipope,[k] and addressed a letter to all faithful Christians, setting forth his sufferings for the freedom of the church, complaining of their supineness in the cause, and urging them, as they would wish for forgiveness, grace, and blessing, here and hereafter, to help and succour their spiritual father and mother—St. Peter and the Roman church.[l] During the following winter he fell sick, and, as his illness increased, he became aware that his end was near. He entreated the friends who stood around his bed to tell him if they had observed in him anything which needed correction.[m] He declared his faith as to the eucharist—probably with a view of clearing himself from the suspicions of Berengarianism which his enemies had industriously cast on him. He forgave and absolved all whom he had anathematized, with exception of the emperor and the antipope; but with these he charged his adherents to make no peace unless on their entire submission.[n] A fearful tempest was

May 25, 1085.

[l] Hugo Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 462.

[k] Bernold, 441; Voigt, 605-6.

[l] Ep. Extrav. 64 (Patrol. cxlviii.).

[m] Hug. Flavin. ap. Pertz, viii. 466.

[n] P. Bernr. 110; Urban II. ap. Hug Flavin p. 466. The imperialists, on the contrary, state that he absolved all; that he acknowledged himself to have sinned greatly in his office, and sent his confessor to request Henry's forgiveness (Benno, p. 17; Sigeb. Gemblac. Ann. 1085—see Bethmann's note; MS. Brit. Mus. ap. Pertz, viii.

raging without as his friends hung over the dying pope.[o] Gathering himself up for a final effort, he exclaimed, in words which have been interpreted as a reproach against Providence, but which may perhaps rather imply a claim to the beatitude of the persecuted — "I have loved righteousness, and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."—"My lord," a bishop is said to have replied, "in exile thou canst not die; for, as vicar of Christ and of His apostles, thou hast received from God the heathen for thine inheritance, and the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession!"[p]

The strength and towering grandeur of Gregory's character, the loftiness of his claims, the intrepid firmness with which he asserted them through all changes of fortune, the large measure of success which crowned his efforts, in his own time and afterwards, have won for him enthusiastic admirers, not only among persons who are attached to the church of Rome by profession or by sympathy, but among those modern idolaters of energy whose reverence is ready to wait on any man of extraordinary abilities and of unrelenting determination.[q] But we may hesitate to adopt an estimate which scorns to inquire into the righteousness either of his objects or of the means which he employed.

Gregory found the papacy in miserable degradation; he left it far advanced towards dominion over the king-

471). Gieseler is inclined to believe the story of the forgiveness, and to suppose that the rest was invented by the imperialist party (II. ii. 33). Stenzel (i. 523) and Giesebrecht (iii. 571) take the opposite side. Comp. Pagi, xvii. 566.

[o] Lupus Protosp. A.D. 1085 (Pertz, v.).

[p] P. Bernr. 110. The reply is given less confidently than Gregory's speech (which is illustrated by the letter from Salerno above mentioned). Gregory's grave in the cathedral of Salerno was marked only by a simple stone, until John of Procida (for whom see here after), two hundred years later, gave him a more splendid monument. That which now exists dates from 1578. Hefele, v. 165; Gregorov. 'Denkmäler der röm. Päpste,' 50.

[q] See, *e.g.*, Professor Voigt's Preface to the 2nd edition of his Life of Hildebrand.

doms of the world. The progress which it had made under his administration is significantly shown by the fact that the decree of Nicolas II. as to the election of popes, which had at first been resented as an invasion of the imperial rights, was now the ground on which the imperialists were fain to take their stand,[r] while the papalists had come to disavow it as unworthy of their pretensions.[s] The old relations of the papacy and of the empire were to be reversed; the emperor was no longer to confirm the election of popes, or to decide between rival claimants of the see, but the pope was to hold the empire at his disposal.[t] The successor of St. Peter was to give laws to mankind.

We may reasonably believe that Gregory was sincere; we may believe that, in forming and in carrying out his great design, he was not actuated by selfish personal ambition; that he would have been content to go on to the end of his life directing the execution of his policy under the names of other men—anxious only that the policy should succeed, not that the author of it should be conspicuous, and willing that its triumph should be deferred until after he should himself have passed away from earth. But is this enough to entitle him to our approval? Are we to admire a wisdom so blind as that which would remedy the evils of secular misrule by setting up a universal spiritual despotism, and thus, by a

[r] Bonizo, 818.

[s] Thus, when in 1084 Otho, bishop of Ostia (afterwards Urban II.), referred to the necessity of the emperor's consent to the election of a pope, Desiderius (afterwards Victor III.) replied that neither pope nor any other man could rightly make such a rule. "Quod si hoc a Nicolao Papâ factum est, injuste procul dubio et stultissime factum est, nec pro humanâ stultitiâ potest aut debet amittere suam dignitatem ecclesia," etc. (Chron. Casin. iii. 50). Anselm of Lucca says that the Germans, by their act of deposition against Nicolas (see p. 261), had forfeited the benefit of his decree; that a single patriarch, with his council, was incompetent to abrogate the laws of the whole church; and, moreover, that the decree had been tampered with by the antipope's party. Adv. Guib. Antip. ii. (Patrol. cxlix. 364). Comp. p. 263, note p.

[t] See Honorius of Autun, 'De Apostolico et Augusto,' 4 (Patrol. clxxii.).

certain consequence, plunging the spiritual power deeply into secularity? Or shall we sanction the idea of a conscientiousness so imperfect that, in pursuit of one engrossing purpose, it disregards all the ordinary laws of equity, truth, and mercy?

We read of Gregory with awe, mixed perhaps with admiration, perhaps with aversion; but in no human bosom can his character awaken a feeling of love. The ruthless sternness of his nature may be illustrated by an incident which occurred before his elevation to the papacy. Thrasimund, a monk of Monte Cassino, had been appointed by the abbot, Desiderius, to the abbacy of the dependent monastery of Tremiti. A rebellion broke out among his monks, and he suppressed it with great rigour, blinding three of them, and cutting out the tongue of a fourth. Desiderius, on hearing of this, was overwhelmed with grief; he displaced the abbot, and put him to penance for his cruelty. But Hildebrand justified the severity which had been used, and contrived that Thrasimund should be promoted to a higher dignity.[u] A.D. 1065.

The exaltation of the papacy was Gregory's single object. For this he sacrificed Berengar;[x] he acted doubly with the Germans; he excited the multitude against the clergy and the empire; he occasioned an endless amount of confusion, bloodshed, and misery. He took advantage of Henry's youth, of the weakness of his position, of the defects of his character; he used his triumph over him inhumanly, and when Henry had again become strong, Gregory, for the sake of gaining allies against this one enemy, was willing to connive at all which he had before denounced as abominable. Other popes had used the censures of the church as means of

[u] Chron. Casin. iii. 95. Benno tells outrageous and incredible stories of Gregory's cruelty, pp. 4-5.

[x] See the next chapter.

influencing princes through the discontent of their people; but Gregory was the first who assumed the power of releasing subjects from their obedience. He argued that Scripture made no difference between princes and other men as to the exercise of those powers of binding and loosing which the Saviour committed to His church. But it was forgotten that Scripture allows a discretion in the employment of ecclesiastical censures: that the greatest of the western fathers had strongly insisted on the inexpediency of rigidly enforcing discipline in cases where it would lead to a dangerous disturbance in the church;[y] nor does Scripture give any countenance to the idea that the censures of the church deprive a sovereign of his right to civil obedience.[z]

Gregory was not without enthusiasm. He instituted a new office in honour of the blessed Virgin, and relied much on her aid and on that of St. Peter;[a] he expected to obtain revelations from heaven by means of visions;[b] he even fancied himself an oracle of the Divine will, and dealt in predictions of temporal weal or woe, which, as we have seen, were in some cases signally unfortunate. Yet in many respects he rose above the superstitions and the narrow opinions of his age. He remonstrated humanely and wisely with the king of Denmark against the cruelties which in that country were practised on women accused of witchcraft.[c] In the eucharistic controversy raised by Berengar, while he appears himself to have held the opposite doctrine, he allowed that of Berengar to be sufficient for communion with the church.[d]

[y] Augustin. adv. Parmen. III. ii. 13. This passage was afterwards quoted by Ivo of Chartres and by Godfrey of Vendome.

[z] See Fleury, Disc. at end of book lix. § 18; Nat. Alex. xiii. 551, seqq.

[a] Neand. vi. 117.

[b] See the next chapter.

[c] Ep. vii. 21.

[d] There is in the Lambeth library a commentary on St. Matthew by a writer named Hildebrand, whom some have identified with Gregory. In a passage of this, published by Allix with the 'Determinatio Joannis Parisiensis' (see hereafter, book VII. c.

In the controversy with the Greek church, he showed himself superior to the zealots of either side by regarding the use of leavened or of unleavened bread as indifferent.[e] And, deeply monastic as was his own character, he was free from the indiscriminate rage for compelling all men to enter the cloister. He censures his old superior, Hugh, for having admitted a duke into the society of Cluny—thereby releasing him from the duties of his office, and leaving a hundred thousand Christians without a keeper. Such a man, he says, ought to have retained his place in the world, where, although piety is not uncommon among priests, and monks, and the poor, the instances of it among princes are rare and precious.[f]

The plea that Gregory lived in a dark age is therefore only available in a modified degree for his defence, since it appears that in many things he was more enlightened than his contemporaries. And in admitting this plea for him, or for any other man to whom Holy Scripture was open, we must be careful never to let it cover the violation of duties which Scripture unequivocally enjoins—of justice and mercy, of charity and simplicity; while, on the other hand, we must deny him the credit of any good which it may have pleased the Divine providence to bring out of his acts, if such good were beyond Gregory's own wish and intention.

No doubt that elevation of the papacy in which he was the most effective agent was in the middle ages a great and inestimable bulwark against secular tyranny. But why should one usurpation be necessary as a safe-

viii. sect. 3), and reprinted in the 'Patrologia' (cxlviii. 823), after an examination of the different views as to the eucharist, it is concluded that the elements become the body and blood of Christ, but that we should not inquire how the conversion takes place. Gregory would, indeed, have been satisfied with such a view, but he was ready, on occasion, to go further; and Wharton has pointed out that, in addition to differing in various respects from Gregory, the writer is proved to be of later date (probably about 1150) by quoting St. Bernard (Patrol. 825).

[e] Ep. viii. 1; Hard. vi. 1451.

[f] Ep. iii. 17. Pagi shows that Hugh duke of Burgundy is meant. xvii. 488.

guard against another? Why, if the investiture of bishops by princes was worse in its practical consequences than in its theory, should we be required to sympathize with one who opposed it by a system of which the very theory is intolerable? Spiritual tyranny is worse than secular tyranny, because it comes to us with higher pretensions. Against the oppressions of worldly force religion may lift up her protest; to those who suffer from them she may administer her consolations; but when tyranny takes the guise of religion, there is no remedy on earth, except in that which is represented as rebellion against God's own authority. The power of the hierarchy, as established mainly through the labours of Gregory, served as a protection against the rude violence of princes and of nobles; but it claimed for itself an absolute dominion over the minds and souls of men, and it did not hesitate to enforce this by the most inhuman and atrocious measures. And how much of what was worst in the secular power may have arisen out of a reaction against the extravagant claims of the papacy!

While we freely and thankfully acknowledge the good which resulted from Gregory's exertions, we may yet ask —and we may refuse to accept a theoretical assertion as an answer to the question—whether it would not have been infinitely better for mankind, and even for the hierarchy itself, that the power of the gospel should have been enforced on the world by milder and truer means?[8]

[8] After the celebration of Gregory as a saint had been granted by earlier popes to certain places (see the Acta SS., May 25, pp. 570-3), and for certain monastic orders, Benedict XIII., in 1729, put forth an office in his honour for general use. But as it was said in the legend for the day that Gregory "Henricum, in profundum malorum prolapsum, fidelium communione regnoque privavit, atque subditos populos fide ei datâ liberavit," many prelates of France refused to use the office, and it was forbidden in that country, in the imperial dominions, and by the protestant government of Holland. See Schröckh, xxv. 528-9; Guéranger, ii. c. 21.

CHAPTER III.

BERENGAR.

A.D. 1045-1088.

IN the middle of the eleventh century a controversy arose as to the manner of the Saviour's presence in the eucharist. On this question the church had not as yet pronounced any formal decision, or proposed any test of orthodoxy.[a] A real presence of Christ was generally held; but the meaning of this reality was very variously conceived.[b] Thus, in England, Aelfric, who is supposed to have written at the beginning of the century, and whose homilies were read as authoritative in the Anglo-Saxon churches, had laid down in these homilies the very doctrine of Ratramn—that the presence of Christ is not material but spiritual.[c] But in countries nearer to the

[a] See Schröckh, xxiii. 490; Gieseler, II. i. 275.

[b] Milman, ii. 447.

[c] *E.g.*, "Great is the difference between the invisible might of the holy housel and the visible appearance of its own nature. By nature it is corruptible bread and corruptible wine, and is, by the power of the Divine word, truly Christ's body and blood; not, however, bodily, but spiritually. Great is the difference between the body in which Christ suffered, and the body which is hallowed for housel. . . . In His ghostly body, which we call housel, there is nothing to be understood bodily, but all is to be understood spiritually. It is, as we before said, Christ's body and His blood, not bodily, but spiritually. Ye are not to inquire how it is done, but to hold in your belief that it is so done." (Homily ii. "Of the Sacrifice on Easter-day." Aelfric, ii. 271-3, ed. Thorpe. See other passages in Routh, Scriptorum Eccl. Opuscula, ii. 168, seqq.). There has been much controversy as to who this writer was. He styles himself "monk and priest." It seems probable that he was not Aelfric archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 996-1005), although this view has lately been revived by Dean Hook (i. 435), nor Aelfric archbishop of York (A.D. 1023-51), although Wharton (Ang. Sac. i. 124-35) and Mr. Soames (227-9) think that he was, and Mr. Thorpe inclines to the same opinion (Pref. to Aelfric) But that his homilies were used by authority in the Anglo-Saxon church certain (see Thorpe's Preface; Johnson's Canons, i. 387; and Lingard, A. S. C. i. 319). Dr. Lingard attempts to get over the difficulty of the case by arguing that the homilist was not either of the archbishops; that *perhaps* other Anglo-Saxon writers, if they could be found, might prove to have taught differently from him; that his doctrine was not native to England, but derived from "Bertram, a foreign writer"

centre of the papal influence the opinions of Paschasius had by degrees won general acceptance, and any deviation from them was now regarded as an innovation on the faith.

In the beginning of the century, Leutheric, archbishop of Sens, who had been a pupil of Gerbert, was called in question for substituting for the usual form of address to communicants the words—"If thou art worthy, receive." The scanty notices of Leutheric leave it doubtful whether his offence consisted in holding that none but the worthy could really be partakers, or in giving the eucharist the character of an ordeal;[d] but, whatever it may have been, he was silenced by king Robert I., and quietly submitted to the sentence.[e] Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, a friend of Leutheric, and one of the most eminent teachers of his age, while he maintained that the eucharist was a pledge, would not, with Paschasius, affirm its identity with the body in which the Saviour was born and was crucified; and he speaks strongly against gross and material misconceptions on the subject. It is, however, doubtful in how far Fulbert would have agreed with the doctrines

(p. 311); that his homilies, compiled, according to the author's own statement, from fathers and later authors, are not faultless, but exhibit such defects as might be expected from the age; that he has been misunderstood, and, after all, did not teach what Dr. Lingard is pleased to describe as "protestant" doctrine, but that with the "figure" Aelfric held the reality also (ii. 314-19, 457, seqq.; see Routh, ii. 185). Dr. Rock also attempts to make out that, on the whole, Aelfric agrees with the Roman doctrine ('Ch. of our Fathers,' i. 22-4). Hardouin took a bolder way to get rid of this inconvenient witness—by finding a Hebrew etymology for his name, and thence arguing that he never really existed! (Soames, 226). It is, however, a mistake to infer from Aelfric's language that the Anglo-Saxon church was formally and consciously opposed to Rome on the doctrine of the eucharistic presence. The real explanation is, that England was somewhat behind countries nearer to Rome in following the progress of Roman opinion; and this will account for the fact, which Dr. Lingard endeavours to turn to account (H. E. i. 334), that there were English bishops in the Roman council, under Leo IX., which condemned Berengar.

[d] Schröckh, xxiii. 503; Giesel. II. i. 276.

[e] Helgald. Vita Roberti, c. 4, ap. Bouquet, x. 100; Hugo Flavin. ib. 220; Baron. 1004. 5.

which were afterwards propounded by his pupil Berengar.[f]

Berengar was born at Tours about the year 1000, and was educated under Fulbert, in the cathedral school of Chartres.[g] His opponents afterwards described him as having in his early days exhibited a passion for novelty, as having despised books and criticized his teacher.[h] William of Malmesbury adds that, as Fulbert was on his death-bed, he singled out Berengar from the crowd which filled the chamber, and, declaring that he saw beside him a devil enticing people to follow him, desired that he might be thrust out.[i] But even the less improbable of these stories appears to be refuted by the tone in which an old fellow-pupil of Berengar reminded him of the days when they had studied together under the venerated bishop of Chartres.[k] In 1031 Berengar returned to his native city, where he became schoolmaster and treasurer of the cathedral. The reputation of the school was greatly raised by him, and his authority as a theologian stood high.[l] Eusebius Bruno,[m] bishop of Angers, out of respect for his character and learning, bestowed on him the archdeaconry of that city, which Berengar held without relinquishing his preferments at Tours.[n]

It appears to have been in 1045, or soon after, that Berengar began to make himself noted by advocating a doctrine which he professed to have derived from Scotus Erigena, under whose name Ratramn's treatise appears to have been really intended.[o] The earliest notices of the novelties imputed to Berengar are contained in letters of

[f] See Fulb. Ep. i. ad Adeodatum (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 5); Schröckh, xxiii. 503-6; Gieseler, II. i. 276. Bishop Cosin ('Hist. Transubstantiationis Papalis,' in Works, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. iv. 114) supposes that Berengar took his doctrine from Fulbert.

[g] Nat. Alex. viii. 497.

[h] Guitmund. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441.

[i] W. Malmesb. 465.

[k] Adelman. in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 438.

[l] Hist. Litt. viii. 199.

[m] On his name, see Dupin, viii. 7.

[n] Schröckh, xxiii. 507. The 'Histoire Littéraire de la France,' however, says that the archdeaconry was given by Bruno's predecessor, and not later than 1040. viii. 200.

[o] See vol. iii. p. 348; Gieseler, II. i.

expostulation addressed to him by two other old pupils of Fulbert—Hugh, bishop of Langres, whose deposition at the council of Reims for gross offences has been already mentioned,[p] and Adelman, schoolmaster of Liége, who afterwards became bishop of Brixen.[q] These writers entreat Berengar to abandon his dangerous speculations. Adelman tells him that in countries of the German as well as of the Latin tongue he was reported to have forsaken the unity of the church.

In 1049, Berengar addressed a letter to Lanfranc, master of the monastic school of Bec in Normandy. Lanfranc was born at Pavia about the year 1005. He received a legal education, and, while yet a young man, became distinguished as an advocate. But the spirit of adventure led him to leave his country; he travelled through France, attended by a train of pupils, and, after having taught for a time at Avranches, was on his way to Rouen, when he was attacked by robbers, who plundered, stripped, and bound him. In his distress he made a vow to amend his life, and when, on the following day, he was set free by some travellers, he asked them to direct him to the humblest monastery with which they were acquainted. They answered that they knew of none poorer or less esteemed than the neighbouring house of Bec (or Le Bec),[r] which Herluin, an old soldier who had turned monk, was then building. Lanfranc found the

123, 276; Hagenbach, ii. 91; Floss, in Patrol. cxxii. 20, seqq. Berengar supposed the treatise to have been written at the request of Charlemagne —a mistake for Charles the Bald. Ep. ad Ricardum, Hard. vi. 1025.

[p] P. 228.

[q] Hugo, in Bibl. Patr. xviii. 417; Adelman. ib. 438. The bishop's letter must have been written before his deposition in October, 1049. That of Adelman is placed by Mabillon about the time of the synod of Paris against Berengar, A.D. 1051 (Acta SS. Ben. IX. x.). But it is generally dated earlier. Sudendorf assigns it to 1047-8. ('Berengarius Turonensis,' Hannov. 1850, p. 7.) There is a letter by Wolfhelm, abbot of Braunweiler, against Berengar, in the Patrol. cliv. 412-14.

[r] So called from its *beck*, or brook ("Rivum, qui Beccus dicitur," Chron. Beccense, Patrol. cl. 641). Caudebec, Bolbec, and other Norman names, retain this vestige of the Scandinavian language.

abbot labouring with his own hands at the work, and was admitted into his society in 1042.[s] The poor and despised little monastery soon became famous as a seminary of learning,[t] and it is not impossible that, among the motives by which Berengar was led to attack Lanfranc's doctrine, there may have mingled some feeling of jealousy at this unexpected and successful rivalry of his own fame as a teacher.[u] In the letter which he now wrote, he expresses surprise that Lanfranc should (as he heard) have espoused the eucharistic doctrine of Paschasius, and should have condemned that of Scotus as heretical; such a judgment, he says, is rash, and unworthy of the "not despicable wit" which God had bestowed on Lanfranc. He taxes him with insufficient study of the Scriptures, while, for himself, he professes to be still but imperfectly acquainted with them. He proposes a conference on the point in question, and in the meantime tells Lanfranc that, if he considers Scotus heretical, Ambrose, Augustine, and Jerome must be included in the same sentence.[x]

When this letter reached Bec, Lanfranc was absent; and there is some uncertainty as to the next part of the story. Lanfranc states that he had gone to Italy—apparently after having attended the council of Reims, and in the train of Leo IX.;[y] and that the letter, having been opened by some clerks, brought his own orthodoxy into suspicion. To this Berengar answers that it could

[s] Milo Crisp. Vita Lanfranci, c. 1, ap. Lanfr. ed. Dachery; Vita Herluini, ap. Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. ix.; Orderic. Vital. l. iv. t. ii. 109.

[t] Vita Lanf. 2; Guil. Gemet. vi. 9, ap. Bouquet, x. 35.

[u] Guitmund brings this charge against Berengar very coarsely. Bibl. Patr. xvii. 441.

[x] Hard. vi. 1016. Lessing speaks of this letter as "friendly, modest, and flattering"! ('Berengarius Turonensis,' in Select Works, iv. 76, Donauëschingen, 1822). Milo Crispin, in saying that Berengar wrote to Lanfranc "*quasi* familiari suo" (c. 3), seems to mean that there was not such an intimacy between the two as would have warranted the familiar address.

[y] Lanf. de Euchar. c. 4. See Hist. Litt. viii. 263; Lessing, 79.

not have had such an effect, inasmuch as it showed that the opinions of the person addressed were different from those of the writer, and agreeable to the doctrine which Lanfranc described as being generally held ;[z] and on the strength, chiefly, of this reply some modern writers have charged Lanfranc with a complication of intrigue and falsehood, and have supposed that he went to Rome for the express purpose of denouncing Berengar.[a] If, however, we look to probability only, without claiming any consideration for Lanfranc's character, we may fairly see reason to question these inferences. Lanfranc could not but have foreseen Berengar's obvious and plausible answer, and would hardly have provoked it, unless he were conscious that his own story was nevertheless true. The mere rumour that a reputed heretic had written to him would naturally raise suspicions ; and it would circulate far more widely than the contents of the letter. Nor was it necessary that Lanfranc should act the part of an informer ; for Leo had in all likelihood heard of Berengar while yet bishop of Toul—situated as that see is in a district where Berengar's opinions had early excited attention, and on the direct road between the cities from which Adelman and Hugh had sent forth their remonstrances ; and it is now known that the pope had spoken of Berengar's alleged errors before leaving Rome for his late circuit beyond the Alps.[b]

[z] Bereng. de Sacrâ Cœnâ, p. 36, ed. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The discovery of this work overthrows Mabillon's conjecture that Lanfranc referred to a different letter from that which now exists. Acta SS. Ben. IX. vii.

[a] See Lessing, 80; Schröckh, xxiii. 516; Neand. vii. 227. The only other ground for these charges is a passage in the Life of Lanfranc by Milo Crispin : "Romam petierat causâ cujusdam clerici, nomine Berengarii, qui de sacramento altaris aliter dogmatizabat quam ecclesia tenet" (c. 3). But too much is made of this. The other evidence, and even the biographer's own context, show that he was wrong in using words which might lead us to suppose that Berengar's affair was the special cause of Lanfranc's journey to Rome. All that can be truly said is, that Lanfranc, while at Rome, was engaged in the affair.

[b] This appears from a letter of Bruno of Angers, first published by Sudendorf. See Sudend. 15, 99.

A synod was held at Rome, where, after his letter to Lanfranc had been read, Berengar was excommunicated—a suitable punishment, say his opponents, for one who wished to deprive the church itself of its communion in the Saviour's body and blood.[c] A.D. 1050. Lanfranc was then required to give an account of his faith, which he did to the satisfaction of the assembly; and Berengar, in order that he might have an opportunity of defending himself, was cited to a synod which was to meet at Vercelli in the following September. He was disposed to obey the summons, although some friends urged on him that, according to the canons, the pope's jurisdiction was limited to the case of appeals, and that questions ought to be decided in the province where they arose.[d] But the king, Henry I., to whom he applied as the head of St. Martin's monastery, instead of aiding him in his journey, committed him to prison, seized his property, and laid on him a fine which, according to Berengar, was greater in amount than all he had ever possessed.[e] Being thus detained from attending the council, he was again condemned in his absence. A passage was read from the book ascribed to Scotus, in which the eucharist was spoken of as a figure, a token, a pledge of the Saviour's body and blood. On this, Peter, a deacon of the Roman church (most probably Peter Damiani[f]), exclaimed—"If we are still in the figure, when shall we get the reality?" Scotus was condemned, with his ad

[c] Lanf. 4; Bernold. de Bereng. Condemnatione Multiplici (Hard. vi. 1013). The author of this tract (formerly styled 'Anonymus Chifletianus,' after his first editor, Chifflet) was Bernold of Constance, the chronicler (Pertz, v. 386). Berengar denies the charge. De Sac. Cœn. 38.

[d] Bereng. 41-2.

[e] Ib. 42. That the application was made to Henry on account of his special connexion, as abbot, with St. Martin's—not, as Lessing (102 thought, on account of his general prerogative—see Schröckh, xxiii. 518-19; Stäudlin, in Bereng. Præf. 14. Against Gfrörer's wild fancies as to this part of the story (iv. 547-8), see Sudend. 109; Hefele, iv. 709.

[f] As Lessing (103) and Sudendorf (109) suppose.

mirer, and the book was committed to the flames.[g] One of Berengar's brother canons, who had been sent by the church of Tours to request the pope's intercession for his release, on hearing him styled a heretic, cried out to the speaker—"By the Almighty God, thou liest!" Another clerk, indignant at the summary condemnation of Scotus, protested that by such inconsiderate haste St. Augustine himself might be condemned; and the pope ordered that these two should be imprisoned, in order to protect them from the fury of the multitude.[h]

Through the influence of Bruno and other friends, Berengar recovered his liberty. He protested loudly against the injustice done him by the pope, who ought, he said, rather to have resented the imprisonment of one who was on his way to the papal judgment-seat than to have taken advantage of it in order to condemn him in his absence;[i] and he desired an opportunity of maintaining his opinions before a council.[k]

It would seem to have been in 1051 that Berengar appeared in Normandy, and was condemned by a council held at Brionne in the presence of duke William;[l] and in the same year a council was summoned to meet at Paris for the consideration of his opinions. On this Theotwin, the successor of Wazo in the see of Liége, addressed a letter to king Henry. After stating that Berengar, in addition to his errors on the eucharist, was accused of "destroying lawful marriage" and of denying infant-baptism—charges which seem to have been altogether groundless—he speaks of the difficulty arising from the circumstance that Bruno, one of Berengar's

[g] Lanf. 4; Bereng. 43; Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1013.

[h] Bereng. 47 (in answer to Lanfranc's assertion that the two were sent to defend Berengar's cause, and that they broke down in the attempt, c. 4).

[i] Bereng. 42.

[k] Ep. ad Ricardum, Hard. vi. 1024-6; Neand. vi. 229.

[l] Durandi abbat. Troarnensis Liber de Corp. et Sang. Christi (ap. Lanfr. Append 106). Sudendorf dates this work in 1058. p. 27.

chief partisans, was a bishop, and therefore subject to the pope's judgment alone; and he suggests that, in order to overcome this difficulty, the king should not allow any discussion of the question, but should proceed against the Berengarians as heretics already condemned.[m] The council was held in October; Berengar, deterred by rumours which reached him, did not appear, and it is said that the assembly, not content with condemning his doctrine and that of Scotus, decreed that he and his followers should be forcibly seized, and, in case of obstinacy, should be put to death.[n]

In 1054 Berengar was cited to appear before a council which was to be held at Tours under Hildebrand, as papal legate. He looked forward to this as an opportunity of vindicating himself, and, before the meeting of the assembly, he showed the legate a collection of authorities for his doctrine.[o] To the charge of asserting that the elements after consecration in no respect differed from what they were before it, he answered that such was not his opinion; that he believed them, when

[m] Hard. vi. 1023-4.

[n] Durand. Troarn. 107. Lessing altogether denies the genuineness of Theotwin's letter and the truth of Durand's statements as to the councils of Brionne and Paris. Schröckh (xxiii. 520-2), Ständlin (ap. Vischer, 15), and Neander (vi. 231), are more or less for the councils. Gieseler (II. i. 280-1) points out that Theotwin's letter is proved to be genuine by Guitmund's mention of it in his treatise against Berengar (Bibl. Patr. xviii. 441). He gives up the council of Paris, and thinks, as does also Sudendorf (12), that a passage of Berengar's letter to Ascelin, which speaks of a journey undertaken for the purpose of appearing before a council, relates to the council of Vercelli. But he holds that Durand may be taken as authority for what passed in Normandy, where he himself lived. Sudendorf (31) points out a new evidence in favour of the council of Paris—the 'Annales Elnonenses Minores,' first published by Pertz (v. 20), which place it in October, 1051. I have followed him (12, 30) in adopting that year for both the councils—which Durand (probably from a failure of memory) refers to 1053, while some place them as early as 1050. One argument against the council of Brionne is, that the monastery of Pratellæ (Préaux), whence Berengar is said to have gone to it, was not founded until 1053 (Höfler, ii. 112). But there is a charter of 1034 in its favour (Bouquet, xi. 387); and see Cossart, ap. Hard. vi. 1018; Nat. Alex. xiii. 508. Hefele places the council of Brionne before that of Vercelli. iv. 710.

[o] Sudend. 130. See Hefele, iv. 738.

consecrated, to be the very body and blood of Christ.[p] Hildebrand, satisfied with this statement, proposed that Berengar should accompany him to Rome, and should there clear himself before the pope; and that in the meantime he should give such explanations as might satisfy the assembled bishops. These explanations were received with some distrust; it was suggested that perhaps Berengar might say one thing with his mouth and hold another thing in his heart. He therefore confirmed the sincerity of his profession by an oath—that the bread and wine are, after consecration, the body and blood of Christ. But the serious illness of Leo obliged Hildebrand to return in haste to Rome, and the arrangement which had been made was not carried out.[q] The enemies of Berengar state that, being unable to defend his heresy, he recanted it at Tours, and afterwards resumed the profession of it.[r] But this is a misrepresentation founded on their misconception of the real nature of his doctrine.[s]

The controversy rested throughout the pontificates of Victor and of Stephen, until 1059, when Berengar appeared at Rome before the synod held by Nicolas II.[t] This appearance would seem to have been voluntary; he probably relied on the favour of Hildebrand, to whom he carried a letter from his only lay supporter whose name is known to us—Geoffrey, count of Anjou—requesting that the cardinal would not temporize, as at the council of Tours, but would openly befriend the accused.[u] But the majority of the council proved to be strongly hostile, and Berengar's friends were afraid to speak, while Hilde-

[p] Bereng. 50-1.

[q] Ib. 52-3.

[r] Lanfr. c. 3; Bernold, ap. Hard. vi. 1014.

[s] Lessing (120) shows that Orderic Vitalis is wrong in supposing Lanfranc to have been at the council of Tours.

[t] See p. 255.

[u] Ep. x. in Sudendorf, 215-19, who gives a Life of Geoffrey—a powerful, warlike, rough, and lawless prince, step-father of the empress Agnes (cf. Gesta Consulum Andegav. c. 10, ap Dachery, Spicil. iii.). The letter is evidently written by an ecclesiastic in Geoffrey's name.

brand was unwilling to imperil his own influence, and the cause which he had most at heart, by encumbering himself with the defence of the suspected heretic.[x] Berengar complains that the council behaved to him not only without Christian kindness, but without reason. They stopped their ears when he spoke of a *spiritual* participation in the eucharist;[y] and, when he proceeded to argue in the dialectical form, they desired him to produce authority rather than arguments which they dreaded as sophisms.[z] He reproached the pope for exposing him to beasts, instead of instituting a deliberate inquiry by competent persons; to which Nicolas only replied that he must blame Hildebrand.[a] Finding his attempts at a defence hopeless, Berengar desisted. A confession drawn up by cardinal Humbert, and embodying a strong and unequivocal assertion of a *material* change in the sacrament, was produced;[b] and Berengar, overpowered (as he tells us) by the fear of death and by the tumult of his opponents, took the document into his hands, prostrated himself in token of submission, and cast his own writings into the fire.[c]

But on returning to his own country Berengar again openly taught his old opinions, and they were widely spread by the agency of poor students.[d] He denounced

[x] Neand. vi. 235. [z] Lanfr. c. 7.

[y] Bereng. 63-72. [a] Bereng. 72-3.

[b] "Panem et vinum... post consecrationem non solum sacramentium, sed etiam verum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi esse, et sensualiter, non solum sacramento sed in veritate, manibus sacerdotum tractari, frangi, et fidelium dentibus atteri." Lanfr. c. 2; Hard. vi. 1064. See Jer. Taylor, Works, ed. Eden. v. 458.

[c] Bereng. 72-3. He denies Lanfranc's statement (c. 2), that he subscribed and swore to the confession. Lanfranc is said to have been present. (Vita 8), but this seems hardly consistent with Berengar's words to him: "Ego longè verius te quid cum Nicolao egerim novi .... manu, *quod mendaciter ad te pervenit*, non subscripsi," etc. A later story was, that he attended Herluin to the council, and, when others were unable to answer Berengar, exposed his errors with such skill that Berengar exclaimed, "Aut tu es Lanfrancus, aut tu es Diabolus." Thom. de Eccleston, in 'Monumenta Franciscana,' 43, Lond. 1858 (Chron. and Mem.).

[d] Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1015; W. Malmesb. 462. Lessing (48-9) con-

the treatment which he had received from the late council, to which (he said) he had gone, not as a culprit, but of his own free will;[e] he reflected severely on Leo, Nicolas, Humbert, and the Roman church;[f] he maintained that his own doctrine was that of St. Augustine, while the doctrine of Lanfranc and Paschasius was no better than "a dotage of the vulgar."[g] Lanfranc wrote to reproach him, Berengar rejoined, and a controversy ensued in which the opinions of each party were brought out into greater distinctness than before.

Lanfranc's treatise 'Of the Body and Blood of the Lord' was written between 1063 and 1070.[h] The work opens by blaming Berengar for spreading his errors in an underhand manner, and for declining to argue before competent judges. Lanfranc then gives an account of the proceedings under Leo and Nicolas. He remarks on his opponent's dialectical subtleties.[i] He asserts the doctrine of Paschasius, and supports it by quotations from ecclesiastical writers. That the elements after consecration are still styled bread and wine, he accounts for by saying that in Scripture things are often called by the

jectures that he did not again publish his doctrines until after the deaths of Nicolas (1061) and of Humbert (1063).

[e] Bereng. 72.

[f] He styled the church "ecclesiam malignantium, concilium vanitatis, nec apostolicam, sed sedem Satanæ"; and, instead of *pontificem*, called Leo *pompificem* and *pulpificem* (Lanfr. 16; Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1014. Cf. Bereng. 39, 41, 71). In Martene's 'Thesaurus,' i. 196, is a letter which the editors suppose to have been probably written by Paulinus, primicerius of Mentz, to Berengar, approving his doctrine and his defence of it, but blaming him "quod de tantâ personâ sacrilegium dixisti, ... quia multâ humilitate tanto in ecclesiâ culmini est deferendum." Does this refer to Leo? or to Lanfranc, as archbishop of Canterbury?

[g] Lanfr. 4.

[h] For the date, see Lessing, c. iii.: Schröckh, xxiii. 528; Giesel. II. i. 285. The authors of the 'Hist. Litt. de la France' (viii. 212, 288) had attempted to show that it was not written before 1079, so as to give it the credit of finally converting Berengar. Their argument, that, if Berengar had been still inclined to defend his errors, he would have answered it, is destroyed by the discovery of the answer which he actually wrote (see below). The mention of the synod of 1079, in c. 2, on which the Hist. Litt. greatly relies, is an interpolation, found only in one MS. Lessing, 51-4.

[i] C. 7.

name of that from which they are made; thus man is spoken of as earth, dust, ashes; or they are named after something which they resemble—as Christ is styled a lion and a lamb.[k] He represents Berengar as holding the sacrament to be nothing more than a figure and a memorial.[l]

Berengar replied in a treatise which, after having been long unknown, has in late times been partially recovered, and has thrown a new and important light on his opinions.[m] He gives (as we have seen) a version of the previous history different in many respects from that which had been given by Lanfranc. His fault in the synod under Nicolas consisted (he says) not in having sworn—(for that was not required of him)—but in having been silent as to the truth.[n] He had yielded to the fear of death and of the raging multitude, and in behalf of this weakness he cites the examples of Aaron and of St. Peter; to have adhered to the confession extorted from him would have been as if the apostle had persisted in the denial of his Lord.[o] There is something like effrontery in the tone of contempt and defiance which Berengar assumes after having submitted to such humiliations; but, while we cannot give him credit for the spirit of a martyr, his words are a valuable evidence of the uselessness of force as a means of religious conviction. He strongly protests against the employment of swords and clubs and uproar by way of argument;[p] he declares against the principle of being guided by the voice of a majority, while he yet states that the supporters of his own views

[k] C. 20. Berengar answers this, p. 78, seqq.

[l] C. 22. Ebrard thinks that it was this treatise which for the first time established the doctrine of transubstantiation (i. 450). See above, vol. iii. p. 346.

[m] Bereng. Turon. 'De Sacrâ Cœnâ adv. Lanfrancum liber posterior,' edd. A. et F. Vischer, Berol. 1834. The discovery of the MS. by Lessing, in the Wolfenbüttel Library, led him to write his 'Berengarius' (A.D. 1770), in which large extracts from it are given.

[n] Pp. 61, 74.

[o] P. 59.

[p] *E.g.*, pp. 59, 72-3

are "very many, or almost innumerable, of every rank and dignity."[q] He defends his use of dialectics, and denies the charge of despising authority, although he holds reason to be "incomparably higher" as a means for the discovery of truth.[r] He complains that he had been condemned, not only without a hearing, but even without a knowledge of his doctrines—especially at the council of Vercelli, when he had not set forth his opinions, nor had attained to such clearness in them as persecution and study had since brought to him.[s] The doctrine which he lays down is very different from that which was imputed to him; he distinguishes between the visible sacrament and the inward part or thing signified;[t] it is to the outward part only that he would apply the terms for which he had been so much censured—sign, figure, pledge, or likeness. He repeatedly declares that the elements are "converted" by consecration into the very body and blood of the Saviour;[u] that the bread, from having before been something common, becomes the beatific body of Christ—not, however, by the corruption of the bread, or as if the body which has so long existed in a blessed immortality could now again begin to be;[x] that consecration operates, not by destroying the previous substance, but by exalting it.[y] It is not a portion of Christ's body that is present in each fragment,[z] but He is fully present throughout.[a]

On the side of Rome, the pontificate of Alexander II. was a season of peace for Berengar. The pope wrote to

[q] P. 54, seqq.

[r] P. 100.

[s] Pp. 37-41, 64.

[t] "Res sacramenti" (p. 114). See Erard, i. 447.

[u] Pp. 57, etc.

[x] P. 97.

[y] Pp. 116, 188.

[z] This very gross notion had been laid down by Gerard, bishop of Arras, in his synod against the heretics, A.D. 1025 (see vol. iii. p. 122), where it was said that the consecrated host, on one occasion, appeared as "pars digiti auricularis sanguine cruentata." Synod. Atrebat. in Patrol. cxliii. 1282-3.

[a] Pp. 119, 131; cf. 120, 133, 137, 148, etc.

him in friendly terms, urging him to forsake his errors; but, although he replied by declaring himself resolved to adhere to his opinions,[b] no measures were taken against him, and, when he was persecuted by the nephews and successors of his old patron, Geoffrey of Anjou, Alexander befriended him and interceded for him.[c]

In 1075, under the pontificate of Gregory, Berengar was brought before a council held under the presidency of a legate at Poitiers; and such was the tumult that he hardly escaped with his life.[d] About the same time, Guitmund, a pupil of Lanfranc, and only second to him in fame as a teacher, wrote against Berengar a dialogue 'Of the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Eucharist.'[e] The tone of this work is very bitter. Guitmund repeats, with additions, the charges of error which had been brought by Theotwin;[f] he asserts that Berengar denied the possibility of our Lord's having entered through closed doors; it was, therefore, no wonder if he and his followers disbelieved the miracles of the church.[g] The most remarkable passage of the book is one in which the writer draws a distinction between various kinds of Berengarians. All, he says, agree that there is no essential change in the elements; but some deny any presence, and allow only shadows and figures; some—which is said to be the "very subtle opinion" of Berengar himself—admit that the Saviour's body and blood are really and latently contained in the elements, and are, so to speak, *impanated;* others, who

[b] Bernold. ap. Hard. vi. 1015.

[c] Sudend. 152-4, 163.

[d] Giesel. II. i. 291.

[e] Bibl. Patr. xviii. 440-68. The date varies between 1073 and 1077 (Giesel. I. ii. 285; Sudend. 55). Guitmund had refused an English bishoprick, offered to him by the Conqueror. He was afterwards nominated to the archbishoprick of Rouen, but his enemies objected that he was the son of a priest. He then obtained his abbot's leave to go into Italy, where Gregory made him a cardinal, nd he was consecrated archbishop of Aversa by Urban II. Order. Vital. l. iv. c. 13. See for him, Anselm, Ep i. 16; Hist. Litt. viii. 553, seqq.

[f] See p. 358.

[g] P. 460.

are strongly opposed to Berengar, maintain that the elements are changed in part, and in part remain; while others, again, admit the entire change, but think that, when unworthy communicants approach, the bread and wine resume their natural substance.[h]

A.D. 1078. Berengar was once more cited to Rome. The pope received him kindly, and, at a council in 1078,[i] endeavoured to provide for his escape by a confession, which, while it avowed a change in the eucharistic elements, would have permitted him to retain his own opinions;[k] and against the authority of Lanfranc he cited that of Peter Damiani.[l] Berengar remained at Rome nearly a year; but the opposite party was vehement, and he was required to undergo the ordeal of hot iron. While, however, he was preparing for it by prayer and fasting, the pope intimated to him that the trial was not to take place; a monk, whom Gregory had desired to address himself by special devotion to the blessed Virgin for instruction on the subject, had received a revelation that nothing ought to be added to the declarations of Scripture, and that Berengar's doctrine was sufficient.[m] But his opponents pressed for stronger measures, the imperialists broadly impeached the pope's orthodoxy,[n] and Berengar was alarmed by a rumour that

[h] Pp. 441-2. Cf. Alger. Prolog. in Lib. de Sacramentis Corp. et Sang. Domini, Patrol. clxxx. 739. Alger, born about 1070, was schoolmaster of Liége, and died a monk of Cluny about 1132. His treatise is declared by Peter the Venerable to be the best of all those against Berengar's opinions. Ib. clxxxix. 780.

[i] See Hard. vi. 1015-16. Berengar's account of it is in Martene, Thes. Anecdot. iv. 99, seqq.

[k] It asserted, however, the identity of the eucharistic with the natural body of the Saviour.

[l] Bereng. ap. Mart. 103. Both parties, it would appear, found something to favour them in Peter. See the 'Expositio Canonis Missæ secundum P. Damiani' (*i.e.* a tract professing to set forth his views, and probably written soon after his death), first published by Mai, and reprinted in the Patrologia,' cxlv. 879, seqq.

[m] Bereng. ap. Mart. 108.

[n] Bowden, ii. 246. Gregory was often reproached by them for favouring Berengar. Benno (ap. Goldast. 3) attacks him for ordering a fast with reference to this question.

Gregory, to save his own reputation, was about to imprison him for life. At the Lent synod of 1079, which consisted of a hundred and fifty bishops and abbots,[o] Berengar was required to sign a confession that the elements are "substantially" changed into the real, proper, and life-giving body and blood of Christ. A bold evasion suggested itself to his mind—that *substantially* might be interpreted to mean *while retaining their substance!*—and he professed himself ready to subscribe.[p] In answer to a question whether he understood the form in the same sense as the council, he said that he understood it agreeably to the doctrine which he had privately explained to the pope some days before. Such a speech was not likely to be acceptable to Gregory, who thereupon told him that he must prostrate himself in token of unreserved submission, and must own that he had hitherto sinned in denying a substantial change. Berengar, in fear of anathema and of violence, obeyed—as God (he says) did not give him constancy;[q] and, after having been charged to refrain from teaching, except for the purpose of recovering those whom he had misled, he was dismissed with a commendatory letter, addressed to all the faithful, in which the pope ordered that no one should injure him in person or in property, and that no one should reproach him as a heretic, forasmuch as he had been acknowledged as a son of the Roman church.[r]

After returning to France, Berengar regretted his late compliance, and once more openly professed his real opinions. In 1080, he was summoned before a council at Bordeaux,[s] where his statements seem to have been accepted; and in the same year Gregory wrote to desire

[o] Bernold (who was himself present), in Hard. vi. 1016.

[p] Bereng. ap. Mart. 105.

[q] Ib. 109.

[r] Hard. vi. 1585; Greg. Ep. Extrav. 41 (Patrol. cxlviii.). See Giesebrecht, De Greg. VII. Registro emendando, 10-17.

[s] Hard. vi. 1587

that the archbishop of Tours and the bishop of Angers would protect him against the count of Anjou, who had been incited by his enemies to persecute him.[t] Berengar was allowed to spend his last years unmolested in an island of the Loire near Tours, where he died in 1088.[u] The latest of his known writings is a letter addressed to a friend on the occasion of Gregory's death, in which he speaks of the pope with regard, expresses a conviction of his salvation, and excuses his behaviour towards himself.[x]

The memory of Berengar was reverenced in the district of Tours, and there was, down to late times, a yearly solemnity at his tomb.[y] Hence it has been argued that he finally renounced his heresy,[z] having, as was supposed, been converted by Lanfranc's book. But the groundlessness of that supposition has been abundantly shown by the discovery of his answer to Lanfranc; nor is there any reason to question the statement of his contemporary Bernold that he persevered in his opinions to the last.[a]

[t] Ep. Extrav. 53.

[u] Chron. Turon. ap. Bouquet, xii. 461-5 (where Berengar is described as "in grammaticâ et philosophiâ clarissimus, et in negromantiâ peritissimus"). William of Malmesbury (463) gives his epitaph, by Hildebert, bishop of Le Mans, and afterwards archbishop of Tours, one of the most famous scholars of the age, who has been generally (but perhaps wrongly) described as a pupil of Berengar. (See Hist. Litt. xi. 251; Bourassé in Patrol. clxxi. 20). The concluding lines are—

"Post obitum secum vivam, secum requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua."

[x] Sudend. 232.

[y] It was celebrated in Alexandre Noël's day (xiii. 522), and may possibly be so still.

[z] Mabill. Acta SS. Ben. IX. xxviii.; Nat. Alex. xiii. 522; Pagi, xvii. 598; Döllinger, i. 378. To these Romanists is to be added the "Old-Lutheran" Guericke, who still treats him as a Calvinistic heretic. ii. 168-74.

[a] Hard. vi. 1016. The chronicle of Tours, however, states that he died "fidelis et vere catholicus" (Bouquet, xii. 465). William of Malmesbury says, "Ævo austeriore ita resipuit, ut sine retractatione a quibusdam sanctus habeatur, innumeris bonis, maximeque humilitate et eleemosynis, approbatus," etc. (462). Coleridge in the translation of "the last words of Berengarius," on which his own eloquent lines are founded, has overlooked the real point of the saying in Malmesbury (465)—"Hodie . . . . apparebit mihi Dominus meus Jesus Christus, *propter pœnitentiam ut spero, ad gloriam; vel propter alios* (*i.e.* those whom he had led astray) *ut timeo, ad pœnam.*"

The recovery of his treatise, and of other writings, has placed his doctrines in a clearer light, and it is now acknowledged, even by writers of the Roman church, that, instead of supposing the eucharist to be merely figurative, he acknowledged in it a real spiritual change, while he denied that doctrine of a material change which has become distinctive of their own communion.[b]

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF GREGORY VII. TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR HENRY IV.—THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A.D. 1085-1106.

GREGORY VII. left behind him a powerful and resolute party. It could reckon on the alliance of the Normans, for whom it was important that the pope should be favourable to their own interest rather than to that of the emperor; and it was supported by the devoted attachment of the countess Matilda.[a] On the other hand, the emperor's strength in Italy was greater in appearance than in reality; for, although many of the chief cities were with him, a strong desire of independence had arisen among them, and he could not safely rely on them unless in so far as his interest coincided with their private objects.[b]

When asked on his death-bed to recommend a successor, Gregory had named Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, and first cardinal-presbyter of the Roman

[b] Mabillon inferred this from the MS. of the synod of 1079 (Acta Ben. SS. IX. xv.-xxii.; Analecta, 513, seqq.). See the note on Nat. Alex. xiii. 521; Martene, Thes. iv. 107. Bp. Cosin had vindicated him while less was known of his writings (iv. 116), and had been blamed for so doing by Fecht, a Lutheran, quoted by Lessing, 17.

[a] Planck, IV. i. 208. [b] Ib. 214.

church, and had desired that, if the abbot should refuse the papacy, either Otho, bishop of Ostia, Hugh, archbishop of Lyons (the same who, as bishop of Die, had been legate in France[c]), or Anselm, bishop of Lucca, the chaplain and chief counsellor of Matilda, should be chosen.[d] The general wish was for Desiderius, but he obstinately refused—perhaps from unwillingness to exchange his peaceful dignity for one which, although loftier, must involve him in violent contentions with the emperor and the antipope.[e] A year had elapsed, when at Whitsuntide 1086 he was persuaded to go to Rome, supposing that he was then no longer in danger of having the popedom forced on him. Preparations were made for an election, and, by the advice of Desiderius, Otho was about to be chosen, when an objection was raised that he was canonically disqualified, as being already a bishop. Although this impediment had in later times been often disregarded, the mention of it served to divert the multitude, who cried out for Desiderius. The abbot, struggling, and refusing to put on a part of the pontifical dress, was enthroned, and greeted as Victor III.; but immediately afterwards he left the city, and, renouncing the dignity which had been thrust on him, withdrew to his monastery.[f]

Ten months more passed away, and in March 1087 Desiderius summoned a council to meet at Capua, with a view to a new election. At this meeting Roger, son of Robert Guiscard,[g] and Jordan, prince of Capua, with a

[c] See Hug. Flavin. in Pertz, viii. 410, 460. Giesebrecht questions this. iii. 563.

[d] Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Hug. Flavin. l. ii. (Pertz, viii. 466); Codex Udalrici, 166. Paul of Bernried (109, 111) and Anselm's biographer (c. 32, ap. Pertz, xii.), although they state that Gregory bequeathed his mitre to Anselm, "tanquam potestatem suam ligandi et solvendi, sed et miracula, credo, faciendi," say nothing of his including him in the recommendation.

[e] Chron. Casin. iii. 65; Stenzel, i. 539.

[f] Chron. Casin. iii. 66-7.

[g] Guiscard had died in Cephalonia, on a new expedition against the Greek empire, July 1085. Anna Comnena, vi. 6; Gibbon, v. 356.

number of bishops, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to retain the papacy; but Hugh of Lyons and Otho of Ostia objected to him, and required an examination into his conduct. By this opposition Desiderius was determined to accept the office which he had so long declined.[h] He repaired to Rome under the protection of a Norman force, which wrested St. Peter's from the antipope; and on the 9th of May he was consecrated.[i] The partisans of Guibert, however, soon after recovered possession of the church, and, after the fashion of the ancient Donatists, they washed the altars in order to cleanse them from the pollution of the Hildebrandine mass.[k]

Although the new pope had been among the most devoted of Gregory's adherents, it would seem that he was now weary of conflict, and desirous to gratify his natural inclination for peace.[l] Of his late opponents, Otho submitted to him: but Hugh, who himself aspired to the papacy, addressed to Matilda two letters, in which he charged him with apostasy from Gregory's policy, and with a disposition to grant unworthy concessions to the emperor.[m] By this letter Victor was greatly exasperated, and at a synod at Benevento, in the month of August, he excommunicated the archbishop. The synod renewed the anathema against the antipope and the decrees against investiture. After three sessions had been held, the pope was struck with palsy; and, having been removed to Monte Cassino, he died there on the 16th of September.[n] Victor has left three books of Dialogues,

[h] Letter of Hugh to Matilda, in Hug. Flavin. (Pertz, viii. 467); Chron. Casin. iii. 68.

[i] Ib. 68-9.

[k] Ib. 69.

[l] Stenzel, i. 540.

[m] Hug. Lugd. Epp. 8-9 (Patrol. clvii.).

[n] Chron. Casin. iii. 72-3. Fabulous accounts of his death are given by William of Malmesbury (446), by the writer who is known as Benedict o Peterborough (Vita Henr. II. 687, ed. Hearne), and others. Some have styled him a martyr, on the groundless supposition that he was poisoned through the emperor's contrivance. Acta SS. Sept. 16, p. 375.

which are valuable as throwing light on the history of his time, while, by the excessive credulity which he displays, as well as by their form, they remind us of his model, the Dialogues of Gregory the Great.[o]

Another long vacancy in the popedom followed. The antipope had possession of Rome, and the emperor's power was formidable to the inheritors of Gregory's principles. But they were encouraged by the resolution of Matilda; and in March 1088 a council met at Terracina for the appointment of a successor to Victor. In consideration of the difficulties of the time, the form of election prescribed by Nicolas II. was set aside. About forty bishops and abbots were present, together with envoys from the Great Countess, and from some prelates beyond the Alps. The clergy of Rome were represented by the cardinal of Porto; the people, by the prefect of the city; and Otho, bishop of Ostia, who had again been recommended by Victor on his death-bed, was unanimously chosen.[p]

The new pope, who took the name of Urban II.,[q] was a Frenchman of noble family. He was educated at Reims, under Bruno, afterwards famous as the founder of the Carthusian order, and became a canon of that city; but he resigned his position to enter the monastery of Cluny. In consequence of a request which Gregory had made, that the abbot would send him some monks who might be fit for the episcopate, Otho left Cluny for Rome in 1076; he was employed by the pope in important business, and was advanced to the see of Ostia.[r] Urban's principles were the same with those of Gregory, and, if

[o] They are in Bibl. Patr. xviii.

[p] Chron. Casin. iv. 2.

[q] Benno calls him *Turbanus*, as having troubled the church (Vita Hildeb. ap. Browne, i. 82), and the same change was afterwards practised on the name of Urban III.

[r] Guib. Novig. Gesta Dei, ii. 1: Order. Vital. iv. 11 (t. ii. 244): Hist. Litt. viii. 516. There is a Life of Urban by Ruinart in Patrol. cli.

he had not the originality of his master, he was not inferior to him in firmness, activity, or enterprise; while with these qualities he combined an artfulness and a caution which were more likely to be successful than Gregory's undisguised audacity and assumption.[s]

At the time of the election, Rome was almost entirely in the hands of the antipope, so that Urban, on visiting it, was obliged to find shelter in the island of the Tiber; while such was his poverty that he was indebted to one of the Frangipani family, and even to some women of the humblest class, for the means of subsistence.[t] The city was a scene of continual struggles between the opposite parties. Their mutual exasperation may be imagined from an instance on each side: that Bonizo, a vehement partisan of Urban, on being appointed to the see of Piacenza, after having been expelled from that of Sutri, was blinded and was put to death with horrible mutilation by the imperialists of his new city;[u] and that Urban declared it lawful to kill excommunicate persons, provided that it were done out of zeal for the church.[x]

Henry, when compelled by Robert Guiscard to retire from Rome, had returned to Germany in 1084. He

[s] Stenzel, i. 542; Milman, iii. 112; Giesebr. iii. 593.

[t] Godef. Vindoc. Ep. i. 8 (Patrol. clvii.); Bernold, Ann. 1089 (p. 448); Schröckh, xxv. 14. The following epigrams were composed in the characters of Clement and Urban—

CLEM. "Diceris Urbanus, cum sis projectus ab urbe;
Vel muta nomen, vel regrediaris ad urbem."

URB. "Nomen habes Clemens, sed Clemens non potes esse,
Cum tibi solvendi sit tradita nulla potestas."

Gerhoh. Syntagma, 17 (*Patrol.* cxciv.).

[u] Bernold, A.D. 1089, p. 449. As to the date, see Watterich, i. Prolegg. 30.

[x] Ep. ad Godefr. Ep. Lucanum, ap. Gratian. Decr. II. xxiii. qu. 5, c. 47. The same doctrine had been propounded in Gregory's time by a fanatical priest named Manegold, who also held that the "Henricians" might not be prayed for because they sinned against the Holy Ghost (Giesel. II. ii. 29). Although Manegold was considered by some to be a troublesome man ("homo importunus"), his writings were received "as the answers of a heavenly oracle" by others (Gerhoh. Dialog. de Clericis sæc. et regul., Patrol. cxciv. 1415-16). Floto gives extracts from his unpublished book "Ad Gebhardum," ii. 154, 289, 299, etc. See too Patrol. clv. 147, seqq.

found the country in great disorder, and in August 1086 he was defeated by the Saxons and their allies, at the Bleichfeld, near Würzburg.[y] But by degrees he was able to conciliate many of his old opponents,[z] and his strength increased; in the following year he received the submission of his rival Herman,[a] and in 1088 he reduced the Saxons to tranquillity.[b] In consequence of these successes, the bishops of the opposite party were expelled from their sees, so that Urban had only four adherents among the prelates of Germany.[c] While the warriors fought the battles of the papacy and the empire with the sword, the theologians of the parties carried on a fierce controversy with the pen—some of them with learning, decency, and Christian feeling; others with outrageous violence, reckless falsehood, and disgusting buffoonery.[d]

In 1089, Urban issued a decree by which the sentences of Gregory were somewhat modified. Anathema was denounced in the first degree against the emperor and the antipope; in the second degree, against such as should aid them, or should receive ecclesiastical dignities

[y] Ekkeh. 206; Bernold, 445.

[z] Annal. Magdeb. ap. Pertz, xvi. 178.

[a] Ekkeh. 207. For the insignificance into which Herman had fallen, see Waltram, ii. 16; Floto, ii. 308.

[b] Annal. Saxo, 723.

[c] Ib. 722; Ekkeh. 209; Bernold, 449; see as to Adalbero of Würzburg, Acta SS., Oct. 6, p. 462. There are letters of Urban as to the consecration of a bishop for Halberstadt at Rome, because the schism prevented his being consecrated at Mentz. The pope exhorts the people to resist the rival imperialist bishop. Epp. 100-2 (Patrol. cli.).

[d] See Stenzel, i. 496-515. Among the respectable writers on Henry's side were Waltram bishop of Naumburg, Sigebert of Gemblours, Wenrich schoolmaster of Treves, and afterwards bishop of Vercelli (who wrote under the direction of Dietrich bishop of Verdun), and Wido or Guy, bishop of Ferrara; among those who disgraced it were Benno bishop of Osnaburg, and Benzo (see p. 263). The bishop of Ferrara's treatise 'De Schismate Hildebrandi' is published for the first time in vol. xii. of Pertz's 'Monumenta' (1856). The author had been an adherent of Gregory, but after the pope's death joined the imperialists. In the first book he appears strenuously to defend Gregory; but the second is a dialogue between a very simple Hildebrandine "Proponens" and a "Respondens" of Clement's party, who overthrows all that had been before said. The work was written between 1085 and 1100 (p. 149).

from them ; while those who should merely communicate with them were not anathematized, but were not to be admitted to catholic fellowship except after penance and absolution.[e] In the same year the antipope Clement was driven out of Rome by the citizens, who are said to have exacted from him an oath that he would not attempt to recover his dignity.[f] A negotiation was soon after opened between the parties, on the condition that Henry should be acknowledged as emperor, and Urban as pope. But it was abandoned through the influence of the imperialist bishops, who naturally apprehended that they might be sacrificed to the proposed reconciliation.[g]

Urban now persuaded Matilda, at the age of forty-three, to enter into a second marriage, with a youth of eighteen—the younger Welf, son of the duke of Bavaria.[h] The union was one of policy ; the pope hoped to secure by it a male head for his lay adherents, to fix the allegiance of Matilda, who had now lost the guidance not only of Gregory but of Anselm of Lucca,[i] and to engage the elder Welf to exert all his influence in Germany against the emperor.[k] On hearing of the event, which had for some time been kept secret from him, Henry crossed the Alps in the spring of 1090, and for three years ravaged Matilda's territories.[l] Mantua, after a siege of six months, was surrendered to him by treachery.[m] The countess, reduced to great distress, entered into negotiations at Carpineto, and was about to yield, even to the extent of acknowledging Clement as pope, when the abbot of Canossa, starting up with the air of a prophet, declared

A.D. 1090-92.

Sept. 1092.

[e] Urban. Append. ap. Hard. Ep. 1 ; Bernold, 449.

[f] Bernold, 450.

[g] Ib. ; Schröckh, xxvi. 15.

[h] Bernold, 449.

[i] Anselm's death is placed in March 1086 by Pagi, xvii. 574, and Muratori Ann. VI. ii. 30.

[k] Schmidt, ii. 339.

[l] Bernold, pp. 450-3. See Floto, ii. 334.

[m] Donizo, l. ii. cc. 4-5 ; Bernold, A.D. 1091, p. 451.

that to conclude peace on such terms would be a sin against every Person of the Divine Trinity, and the treaty was broken off.[n] Henry attempted to take Canossa, the scene of his memorable humiliation; but he was foiled, partly through the dense gloom of the weather, and lost his standard, which was hung up as a trophy in the castle-chapel.[o]

October.

The antipope had found means of re-establishing himself at Rome, in 1091;[p] but in 1094 Urban again got possession of the Lateran, through the treachery of the governor, who offered to surrender it for a certain sum. There were, however, no means of raising this until Godfrey, abbot of Vendome, who had arrived at Rome on a pilgrimage of devotion, by placing at the pope's disposal not only his ready money but the price of his horses and mules, enabled him to complete the bargain.[q]

The empress Bertha had died in 1088,[r] and in the following year Henry had married Adelaide or Praxedes, a Russian princess, and widow of Uto, marquis of Saxony.[s] The marriage was unhappy, and Henry relapsed into the laxity of his early life.[t] But worse infamies were now imputed to him;[u] it was asserted that he had compelled Adelaide to prostitute herself to his courtiers, that he had required his son Conrad to commit incest with her, and that, when the prince recoiled with horror from the proposal, he had threatened to declare him a supposititious child.[x] The empress was welcomed as

[n] Donizo, ii. c. 7. See Muratori's note in Pertz, xii. 392.

[o] Donizo, ii. 680-723.

[p] Bernold, 451.

[q] Godefr. Vindoc. Ep. i. 8 (Patrol. clviii.).

[r] Ekkehard, in ann.

[s] Id. A.D. 1089; Annal. Saxo, p. 721; Giesebr. iii. 1166. Some writers strangely make her a sister of Godfrey of Bouillon. The Hist. Litt. (viii. 599, 603), adopts this view.

[t] See Giesel. II. ii. 40. There are strange fables in the Annals of Pölde (Pertz, xvi. 71).

[u] Luden, ix. 255.

[x] Donizo, ii. c. 8; Bernold, Ann. 1094, p. 458. The empress told the story to the pope, to whom she was introduced by the Countess Matilda Ann. S. Disib. ap. Pertz, xvii. 14.

an ally by Matilda, and her story was related before a synod at Constance, in 1094.[y] What her motives may have been for publishing a tale so revolting, so improbable, and in parts so contradictory to itself—whether she were disordered in mind, or whether, in her ignorance of the language in which her depositions were drawn up, she subscribed them without knowing their contents—it is vain to conjecture.[z] But the story furnished her husband's enemies with a weapon which they employed with terrible effect against him.[a]

About the same time, Conrad appears to have been tampered with by some of the anti-imperialist clergy. This prince had grown up at a distance from Henry, and without experiencing his influence; for in early childhood he had been committed to the archbishop of Milan for education, and many years had passed before the troubles of Germany permitted the father and the son to meet again.[b] To a character like Conrad's—gentle, studious, devout, and dreamy[c]—the long and hopeless contentions of the time, its rude hostilities, the schism of western Christendom, could not but be deeply distasteful; it would seem that the work of alienating him from his father was easy, and that he was preparing to leave the court when Henry, suspecting the intention, committed him to custody. Conrad, however, found means to escape, and sought a refuge with Matilda, who had perhaps been concerned in the practices by which he had been incited to rebel,[d] and now received

A.D. 1093.

[y] Bernold, 457-8. It is commonly said that she herself told it there; but, as Luden remarks (ix. 609), this does not seem to be implied in the chronicler's words—"Querimonia pervenit."

[z] See Gibbon, v. 407; Schröckh, xxvi. 18; Stenzel, i. 552; Sismondi, iv. 499; Luden, ix. 256; Giesel. II. ii. 40; Milman, iii. 118.

[a] Donizo compares Matilda to Deborah, and styles Adelaide the Jael who drove the nail into the temple of the imperial Sisera. ii. c. 8.

[b] Floto, ii. 148, 152.

[c] Ekkeh. 211; Milman, iii. 115, Floto, ii. 346.

[d] Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 57.

him with honour, while Urban released him from his share in the emperor's excommunication. He was crowned at Monza as king of Italy, by Anselm, archbishop of Milan; and many Lombard cities declared in his favour.[e] How little the prince's own will concurred in the movements of which he was the nominal head, appears from the fact that he always continued to style Henry his lord and emperor, and would not allow him to be spoken of with disrespect.[f] The rebellion of his son inflicted on Henry a blow in comparison of which all his earlier sufferings had been as nothing. He cast off his robes, secluded himself in moody silence, and, it is said, was with difficulty prevented from putting an end to his own life.[g]

But a new movement, which now began, was to be far more valuable to Urban and to the papacy than any advantages which could have resulted from the contest with the emperor.

For many years the hardships inflicted on pilgrims by the Mahometan masters of the Holy Land had roused the pity and the indignation of Christendom.[h] The stream of pilgrimage had continued to flow, and with increasing fulness. Sometimes the pilgrims went in large bodies, which at once raised the apprehensions of the Mussulmans that they might attempt to take possession of the country, and, by the wealth which was displayed, excited their desire of plunder. A company headed by Lietbert, bishop of Cambray, in 1054, was so numerous that it was styled "the host of the Lord"; but the bishop and his followers had the mortification of finding that Jerusalem was for the time closed against the

[e] Bernold, 456; Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1093. See Stenzel, i. 550; Luden, ix. 251-2.

[f] Ekeh. 211; Chron. S. Partul. ap Eccard, i. 916.

[g] Bernold, 450.

[h] Wilken, i. 45.

entrance of Christians.[i] Ten years later, on a revival of the belief that the day of judgment was at hand,[k] a still greater expedition set out under Siegfried of Mentz, whose mean and tortuous career was varied from time to time by fits of penitence and devotion. The pilgrims were repeatedly attacked, and, out of 7000 who had left their homes, 5000 fell victims to the dangers, the fatigues, and the privations of the journey.[l]

A fresh race of conquerors, the Seljookian Turks, had appeared in the east. They carried their arms into Asia Minor, wrested all but the western coast of it from the Greeks, and in 1071 humiliated the empire by taking prisoner its sovereign, Romanus Diogenes. Their conquests were formed into a kingdom to which they insolently gave the name of Roum (or Rome), with Nicæa, the city venerable for the definition of orthodox Christianity, for its capital;[m] and in 1076 they gained possession of Palestine. Under these new masters the condition of the Christian inhabitants and pilgrims was greatly altered for the worse. With the manners of barbarians the Turks combined the intolerant zeal of recent converts to Islam; and the feelings of European Christians were continually excited by reports of the

[i] Vita Lietb. 32 (Patrol. cxlvii.).

[k] The ground of this belief was, that Easter fell on March 27, which was marked in the calendar as the anniversary of the Saviour's resurrection. Vita Altmanni Patav. c. 3 (Pertz, xii.).

[l] Lambert, Ann. 1064-5; Marianus Scotus ap. Pertz, v. 559; Vita Altmanni, 3-5. Giesebrecht thinks that the state of politics in Germany had more to do with Siegfried's pilgrimage than any higher motive (iii. 111). Among the pilgrims was Ingulf, an Englishman by birth, who had been secretary to William of Normandy, and afterwards became abbot of Croyland (Orderic. Vital. ii. 285). The History of Croyland which bears his name is shown to be spurious by Sir F. Palgrave in the 'Quarterly Review,' xxxiv. 289-96 (compare Stevenson, Pref. to Ingulf, and Hardy's Catalogue, ii. 62, seqq.). It has been supposed by some writers that the 'Historia Croylandensis' is founded on a genuine earlier work (see Lingard, i. 460; Lappenberg, I. lxii.-iv.; Hardy, Pref. to Monum. Hist. Brit. 19); but this opinion would seem to be untenable since Mr. Riley's dissection of the forgery in the 'Archæological Journal,' vol. xix., London, 1862. See Sir. T D. Hardy's Catalogue, ii. 61-2.

[m] See Gibbon, ch. lvii.

exactions, the insults, and the outrages to which their brethren in the east were subjected.[n]

The idea of a religious war for the recovery of the Holy Land was first proclaimed (as we have seen[o]) by Sylvester II. Gregory VII., in the beginning of his pontificate, had projected a crusade, and had endeavoured to enlist the emperor and other princes in the cause;[p] but as the object was only to succour the Byzantine empire, not to deliver the Holy Land, his proposal failed to excite any general enthusiasm, and led to no result.[q] His successor, Victor, had published an invitation to a war against the Saracens of Africa, with a promise of remission of all sins to those who should engage in it; and a successful expedition had been the consequence.[r] But now a greater impulse was to be given to such enterprises.[s]

Peter, a native of Amiens, had been a soldier in his youth. He was married, but withdrew from the society

[n] Gibbon, v. 403.

[o] P. 47. [p] See p. 300.

[q] Sybel, 189; Milman, iii. 129.

[r] Chron. Casin. iii. 71.

[s] The chroniclers of the time in general give some account of the first crusade. Of those who have specially made it their subject, vol. clv. of the 'Patrologia' contains Anselm of Ribemont ('Ep. ad Manass. Rem.'), Radulf of Caen ('Gesta Tancredi'—which I have read in Muratori, vol. v.), Raymond de Agiles ('Hist. Francorum'), Robert of St. Rémi ('Hist. Hierosolymitana'), Tudebod ('Hist. de Hieros. Itinere'), Fulcher of Chartres ('Hist. Hieros.'), Gilo ('Gesta Viæ Hieros.'), etc. Guibert of Nogent ('Gesta Dei per Francos') is in vol. clvi.; Baldric of Dol ('Hist. Hieros.') and Albert of Aix ('Hist. Hieros.') in vol. clxvi.; Lisiard of Tours ('Hist. Hieros.') in vol. clxxiv.; and William of Tyre ('Hist. Rerum in Partibus Transmarinis Gestarum') in vol. ccl. To these I have added the histories by Wilken, Michaud, and Sybel ('Der erste Kreuzzug,' Düsseldorf, 1841), with the Essays on the Influence of the Crusades by Heeren (Histor. Werke, ii. Göttingen, 1821), and Choiseul-Daillecourt (Paris, 1824). Of the two chief recent histories, Wilken's is the more solid, and Michaud's the more interesting. Von Sybel aspires to be the Niebuhr of the crusade—dissecting the old narratives and reconstructing the story. Michaud has analysed the whole literature of the crusades in his 'Bibliothèque des Croisades' (4 vols. Paris, 1829). The last volume, which contains the Oriental accounts, is the most valuable. In vol. iv. of Sir F. Palgrave's 'Normandy and England,' published in 1864, but printed many years earlier, the story of the first crusade is told at considerable length, and in a tone of unmixed reprobation.

of his wife into a monastery, and afterwards became a hermit.[t] In 1093 he visited Jerusalem, where his spirit was greatly stirred by the sight of the indignities which the Christians had to endure. He suggested to the patriarch Symeon an application for aid to the Byzantine emperor; the patriarch replied that the empire was too weak to assist him, but that the Christians of the west could help effectually, by prayers if not by arms. On his return to Europe, Peter presented himself before the pope, related his interview with Symeon, and enforced the patriarch's request by a story of a vision in the church of the holy sepulchre, where the Saviour had appeared to him, and had charged him to rouse the western nations for the delivery of the Holy Land.[u] Urban listened with approbation, but, instead of at once committing himself to the enterprise, he desired Peter to publish it by way of sounding the general feeling. The hermit set forth, roughly dressed, girt around his waist with a thick cord, having his head and feet bare, and riding on a mule.[x] Short of stature, lean, of dark complexion, with a head disproportionately large, but with an eye of fire, and a rude, glowing eloquence, he preached to high and to low, in churches and on highways, the sufferings of their brethren, and the foul desecrations of the land which had been hallowed by their Redeemer's birth and life. He read letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem and other Christians, with one which he professed to have received

[t] Guib. Novig. ii. 4; Gibbon, v. 405. Orderic calls him De Acheris, which may mean that his family came from Acheris, in the diocese of Laon (Palgrave, iv. 472). M. Le Prevost thinks that the name L'Ermite was derived from his father; that Peter was not a hermit, and that he did not become a monk until his return from the crusade (n. on Orderic, iii. 477). Alberic of Trois Fontaines speaks of him as a priest, and "vere cognominatus Eremita," (ap. Bouquet, xiii. 687), and Matthew Paris styles him "cognomento et professione Heremita." Hist. Angl. i. 57.

[u] Alb. Aquens. i. 4-5; Wil. Tyr. i. 11-12; Wilken, i. 48.

[x] Radulf. Cadomensis, ap. Muratori, v. 81; Guib. Novig. ii. 4.

from heaven.[y] When words and breath failed him, he wept, he groaned, he beat his breast, and pointed to a crucifix which he kissed with fervent devotion. Some, it is said, regarded him as a hypocrite;[z] but the vast mass listened with rapture. The hairs which fell from his mule were treasured up as precious relics. Gifts were showered on him, and were distributed by him as alms. He reconciled enemies; he aroused many from lives of gross sin, and others from a decent apathy; he reclaimed women from a course of profligacy, portioned them, and provided them with husbands. In no long time he was able to return to the pope, with a report that everywhere his tale had been received with enthusiasm, so that he had even found it difficult to restrain his hearers from at once taking arms and compelling him to lead them to the Holy Land.[a]

The pope appears to have been sincerely interested in the enterprise for its own sake; yet he can hardly have failed to apprehend something of the advantages which he was likely to reap from it. It opened to him the prospect of uniting all Christian Europe in one cause; of placing himself at the head of a movement which might lift him triumphantly above the antipope, and might secure for the church a victory over the temporal power; of putting an end to the schism which had so long divided the Greek from the Latin Christianity.[b] And while the greater part of his own city was still in the hands of a rival—while he was embroiled in deadly hostility with the most powerful sovereign of the west—Urban boldly resolved to undertake the great work.

A council was assembled in March 1095 at Piacenza, where the pope appeared surrounded by two hundred

[y] Annal. S. Disib. 1096, p. 16; Annal. Saxo, 728; Will. Tyr. i. 11-13.

[z] Ekkehard, Ann. 1096; Rob. S. Rem. i. 3.

[a] Guib. Novig. ii. 4; Wilken, i. 49; Michaud, i. 55-6.

[b] Schröckh, xxv. 53; Milman, iii. 132.

bishops, four thousand clergy, and thirty thousand laity; and, as no building was large enough to contain this multitude, the greater sessions were held in a plain near the city.[c] The project of a holy war was set forth; ambassadors from the Greek emperor, Alexius Comnenus, stated the distress of the eastern Christians, and the formidable advances of the Turks. The hearers were moved to tears by these details; the pope added his exhortations, and many bound themselves by oath to engage in the crusade.[d] But the Italians of that day possessed neither the religious enthusiasm nor the valour which would have fitted them to sustain the brunt of such an enterprise; and Urban resolved that the grand inauguration of it should take place in his native country.

Other affairs were also transacted at Piacenza. Canons were passed against Simoniacs, Nicolaitans, and Berengarians; the antipope was solemnly anathematized; and the empress Adelaide was brought forward to excite indignation and revolt against her husband by the story of his alleged offences.[e]

In his progress towards France, Urban was received at Cremona by Conrad, who obsequiously held his stirrup. The prince was rewarded by a promise of Germany and the imperial crown, and was yet further bound to the papal interest by a marriage which Urban and Matilda arranged for him with a wealthy bride, the daughter of Roger, grand count of Sicily.[f] On entering France the

[c] Hard. vi. 1714; Bernold, 462; Gibbon, v. 407.

[d] Bernold, 462; Gibbon, v. 408. Some writers question the Greek embassy. As to a letter said to have been written by Alexius to Robert, count of Flanders, in which the emperor says that he would rather be subject to the Franks than to the Turks, and holds out lower as well as higher motives for coming to the rescue of Constantinople (Patrol. clv. 465; Guib Novig. i. 5), see Michaud, i. 57, Sybel, 8, and Finlay, 118, who think it genuine, at least in substance. Palgrave supposes both the letter and the embassy to have been tricks of Bohemund, who might have found in southern Italy persons able to write Greek and to pass themselves off for Byzantines, iv. 507, 514.

[e] Bernold, 462; Ekkeh. A.D. 1099. fin. Adelaide retired into a nunnery.

[f] Bernold, 463; Malaterra, iv. 23.

pope was met by the gratifying information that Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, had at length succeeded in procuring for him the acknowledgment of his title in England.[g]

The case of Philip, king of France, divided the pope's attention with the crusade. Philip, whose increasing sloth and sensuality had continued to lower him in the estimation of his feudatories and subjects, had in 1092 separated from his queen Bertha, and married Bertrada, wife of Fulk, count of Anjou.[h] There was no formal divorce in either case; but the separation and the marriage were justified on the ground that both Bertha and Bertrada were within the forbidden degrees of relationship to their first husbands—a pretext which, between the extension of the prohibitory canons and the complicated connexions of princely houses, would have been sufficient to warrant the dissolution of almost any marriage in the highest orders of society. No one of Philip's immediate subjects would venture to officiate at the nuptial ceremony, which was performed by a Norman bishop;[i] but the union had been sanctioned by a council at Reims in 1094, when the death of Bertha appeared to have removed one important

[g] Milman, iii. 121. See the next chapter.

[h] Bertrada was of the family of Montfort, and her son by Fulk was grandfather of Henry II. of England (Palgrave, 'Norm. and Eng.' iv. 249, 266). Fulk had already buried one wife, and divorced two who were still living, when he married Bertrada (Recueil des Hist. xvi. Pref. 38). He is celebrated in the history of fashion as having devised, for the purpose of concealing his ill-shapen feet, the long-pointed shoes, "en poulaine," which for three centuries defied the anathemas of councils (Order. Vital. iii. 323; Sismondi, iv. 500); but his claim to originality of invention is disproved by Brial in vol. xvi. of the French Historians (Pref. 18), where a history of the fashion is given. The author of the 'Eulogium Historiarum' (Chron. and Mem. of G. B.) says of such shoes, "Potius judicantur ungulæ dæmonum quam ornamenta hominum." iii. 231 (A.D. 1362). The count afterwards married a fifth wife, and was visited on friendly terms by Philip and Bertrada. Orderic. iii. 388.

[i] Urban, in 1092, says that the bishop of Senlis was supposed to have blessed the nuptials (Ep. 68, Patrol. cli.). Orderic names Odo of Bayeux (iii. 387); but see the editor's note. Brial holds with William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum, 404) that William archbishop of Rouen officiated. Rec. des Hist. xvi. Pref. 49.

obstacle to it.[k] Ivo, bishop of Chartres, a pious and honest prelate, who was distinguished above all his contemporaries for his knowledge of ecclesiastical law, alone openly protested against it; he disregarded a citation to the council, and was not to be moved either by the king's entreaties, or by imprisonment and the forfeiture of his property.[l] Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, who had been reconciled with Urban and restored to his office of legate,[m] excommunicated the king in a council at Autun, which was not then within the kingdom of France;[n] but Philip obtained absolution from Rome by swearing that, since he had become aware of the pope's objections to his marriage, he had abstained from conjugal intercourse with Bertrada. Urban, however, now knew that this story was false, and was resolved to strike a decisive blow.

A council had been summoned to meet at Clermont in Auvergne. The citations to it were urgent, and charged the clergy to stir up the laity in the cause of the crusade.[o] Among the vast assemblage which was drawn together were fourteen archbishops, two hundred and twenty-five bishops, and about a hundred abbots;[p] the town and all the neighbouring villages were filled with strangers, while great numbers were obliged to lodge in tents.[q] The sessions lasted ten days:[r] the usual canons were passed in condemnation of simony, pluralities, and impropriations; the observation of the truce of God was enjoined;[s] and Urban ventured to advance a step beyond Gregory, by forbidding not only the practice of lay investiture, but that any ecclesiastic should

Nov. 1095.

[k] Rec. des. Hist. xvi. Pref. 58.

[l] Ivo, Epp. 14-15, 20-3 (Patrol. clxii.); Neand. vii. 167.

[m] Hist. Litt. ix. 310.

[n] Hard. vi. 1711.

[o] Wilken, i. 51.

[p] See, as to the various reports of the numbers, Hist. Litt. viii. 225.

[q] Michaud, i. 59.

[r] There is no official record of the council, and our accounts of it must be drawn from the chroniclers. Hist. Litt viii. 544.

[s] Hard. vi. 1718-20.

swear fealty to a temporal lord—a prohibition which was intended entirely to do away with all dependence of the church on the secular power.[t] Philip, the suzerain, although not the immediate ruler of the country in which the council was held, was excommunicated for his adultery with Bertrada; and, startling as such an act would have been at another time, it was not only allowed to pass, but even was unnoticed, amid the engrossing interest of the greater subject which filled the minds of all.[u]

At the sixth session the crusade was proposed. Urban ascended a pulpit in the market-place and addressed the assembled multitude. He dwelt on the ancient glories of Palestine, where every foot of ground had been hallowed by the presence of the Saviour, of his virgin mother, of prophets and apostles. Even yet, he said, God vouchsafed to manifest his favour to it in the yearly miracle of the light from heaven, by which the lamps of the holy sepulchre were kindled at the season of the Saviour's passion—a miracle which ought to soften all but flinty hearts.[x] He enlarged on the present condition of the sacred territory—possessed as it was by a godless people, the children of the Egyptian handmaid; on the indignities, the outrages, the tyranny, which they inflicted on Christians redeemed by Christ's blood. He appealed to many of those who were present as having themselves been eye-witnesses of these wrongs. Nor did he forget to speak of the progressive encroachments of the Turks on Christendom—of the danger which threatened Constan-

[t] C. 15. The reason assigned was, in somewhat stronger language, the same which had been advanced by Hincmar (see p. 146)—that it was abominable that hands which consecrated the body of the Lord should be defiled by being placed between hands stained by impurity, rapine, and bloodshed (c. 9, ap. Hard. vi. 1739; Roger Hoveden, 268). De Marca (VIII. xxi. 4) and others have supposed that Gregory issued a similar decree; but this is a mistake, although there can be little doubt that the abolition of homage was part of his plan. Planck, IV. ii. 13.

[u] Guib. Novig. ii. 2; Milman, iii. 122.

[x] Hard. vi. 1726, b. See above p. 193.

tinople, the treasury of so many renowned and precious relics.[y] "Cast out the bondwoman and her son!" he cried; "let all the faithful arm. Go forth, and God shall be with you. Turn against the enemies of the Christian name the weapons which you have stained with mutual slaughter. Redeem your sins by obedience —your rapine, your burnings, your bloodshed. Let the famous nation of the Franks display their valour in a cause where death is the assurance of blessedness. Count it joy to die for Christ where Christ died for you. Think not of kindred or home; you owe to God a higher love; for a Christian, every place is exile, every place is home and country." He insisted on the easiness of the remedy for sin which was now proposed—the relaxation of all penance in favour of those who should assume the cross.[z] They were to be taken under the protection of the church; their persons and their property were to be respected, under the penalty of excommunication. For himself, he would, like Moses, hold up his hands in prayer for them, while they were engaged in fighting the Amalekites.[a]

The pope's speech was interrupted by an enthusiastic cry from the whole assemblage—"God wills it!"[b]—words which afterwards became the war-cry of the crusaders; and when he ceased, thousands enlisted for the enterprise by attaching the cross to their shoulders. The

[y] Hugo Floriac. ap. Pertz, ix. 392.

[z] *Plenary* indulgence (*i.e.* forgiveness, not of particular sins, but of all) was now, for the first time, introduced. Fleury, Disc. sur les Croisades, c. 2; see below, Book vi. c. xiii. 4. 12.

[a] On the various versions of Urban's speech, see Hist. Litt. viii. 547-57 Michaud, i. 64; Milman, iii. 133 Hefele, v. 207. It seems probable that they represent several speeches made by him in the course of the proceedings at Clermont. The summary in the text is put together from William of Tyre (i. 15), a Vatican MS. (Hard. vi. 1725), and William o Malmesbury (527, seqq.). The statement of Michaud (i. 61) and others, that Peter the Hermit excited the council by his eloquence, is unwarranted by the old accounts. Sybel, 176.

[b] "Diex lo volt!" Wilken, i. 53; Michaud, i. 64.

most important promise of service was that of Raymond of St. Gilles, the powerful count of Toulouse, who was represented at the council by envoys.[c] Adhemar of Monteil, bishop of Le Puy, who had already been a pilgrim to Jerusalem,[d] stepped forward with a joyous look, declared his intention of joining the crusade, and begged the papal benediction.[e] A cardinal pronounced a confession of sins in the name of all who were to share in the expedition, and the pope bestowed his absolution on them.[f] Adhemar was nominated as legate for the holy war; the pope, in answer to a request that he would head the Christian army, excused himself on the ground that the care of the church detained him; but he promised to follow as soon as circumstances should allow.[g] It was believed that the resolution of the council was on the same day known throughout the world, among infidels as well as among Christians.[h]

Urban remained in France until August of the year 1096, and held many councils at which he enforced the duty of joining the holy war. The bishops and clergy seconded his exhortations, and everywhere a ferment of preparation arose. Famines, pestilences, civil broils, portents in the heavens, had produced a general disposition to leave home and to engage in a career of adventure.[i] Women urged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to take the cross; and those who refused became marks

[c] Fulcher, i. 1; Baldric, 1069; Order. Vital. iii. 469; Gibbon, v. 410.

[d] Adhemar had been a soldier in his youth, and, on his return from the Holy Land, he had gone to war with the viscounts of Polignac, who had usurped a third part of the revenue of his cathedral. The bishop was successful, and forced them to a compromise by which, for a certain sum, they gave up all claims on his church (Hist. de Languedoc, ii. 271, 289, Append. No. 4). He is said to have been the author of the hymn "Salve regina," which from the name of his see was styled "antiphona Podiensis." (Hist. Langued. 311; Alber. 3 Font. ap. Bouq. xiii. 697.) See as to him Palgrave, iv. 561, 565.

[e] Bald. 1069; Order. Vital. iii. 469.

[f] Rob. S. Remig. i. 2.

[g] Wilken, i. 55-6; Michaud, i. 65.

[h] Rob. S. Rem. i. 2.

[i] Bernold, 460-1; Ekkehard, 213; Guib. Novig. iii. 3; Chron. S. Maxent. ap. Bouquet, xii. 403; Wilken, i. 76.

for universal contempt.[k] Men who on one day ridiculed the crusade as a chimera, were found on the next day disposing of their all in order to join it.[l] Lands were sold or mortgaged, to raise the means of equipment for their owners;[m] artisans and husbandmen sold their tools; the price of land and of all immoveable property fell, while horses, arms, and other requisites for the expedition became exorbitantly dear.[n] A spirit of religious enthusiasm animated all ranks, and with it was combined a variety of other motives. The life of war and adventure in which the nations of the west found their delight was now consecrated as holy and religious;[o] even the clergy might without scruple fight against the enemies of the faith.[p] The fabulous splendours and wealth of the east were set before the imagination, already stimulated by the romantic legends of Charlemagne and his peers.[q] There was full forgiveness of sins, commutation of all penances;[r] God, according to the expression of a writer of the time, had instituted a new method for the cleansing of sins.[s] Penitents, who had been shamed among their neighbours by being debarred from the use of arms, were

[k] Wilken, i. 58.

[l] Guib. Novig. ii. 3.

[m] There is a significant legend that a German baron was led by a man of terrible appearance to a ruined castle in a forest, where he saw his father and others sitting round a table, silent and in torments, because they had raised money by oppression from their people, to spend it in war against the infidels. Raumer, vi. 237.

[n] Guib. Novig. ii. 3; Orderic, iii. 411, 468; Gibbon, v. 418.

[o] Gibbon, v. 416-17.

[p] Fleury, Disc. c. 2.

[q] Carolingian romance is said to date from the eleventh century. (Gibbon, v. 408; Ampère, iii. 429; Sismondi, Litt. du Midi, i. 290; R. J. King, in Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 292; Martin, iii. 343, seqq.; Palgrave, iv. 496.) The belief in Charlemagne's imaginary expedition to the Holy Land (of which the first trace is said to be in Benedict of Soracte, a barbarous chronicler of the eleventh century—Pertz, iii. 695, 709, 711, or Patrol. cxxxix.; Gregorov. iv. 22), was furthered by the Chronicles of St. Denys in the beginning of the twelfth century. Sismondi, v. 245. See Gaston Paris, Hist. Poëtique de Charlem., p. 55.

[r] Order. Vital. iii. 468.

[s] Guib. Novig. i. 1. So St. Bernard, in urging Conrad of Germany to join the second crusade, speaks of the "pœnitentia levis, brevis, honorabilis, salutaris quam ad salvandos peccatores Divina pietas excogitaverat." Vita, vi. 15 (Patrol. clxxxv.).

now at liberty to resume them.[t] For the peasant there was an opportunity to quit his depressed life, to bear arms, to forsake the service of his feudal lord, and to range himself under the banner of any leader whom he might choose.[u] For the robber, the pirate, the outlaw, there was amnesty of his crimes, and restoration to society;[x] for the debtor there was escape from his obligations;[y] for the monk there was emancipation from the narrow bounds and from the monotonous duties of his cloister;[z] for those who were unfit to share in the exploits of war, there was the assurance that death on this holy expedition would make them partakers in the glory and bliss of martyrs.[a]

The letter which Peter the Hermit professed to have received from heaven was not the only thing which claimed a supernatural character. Prophets were busy in preaching the crusade, and turned it to their own advantage.[b] Many deceits were practised, nor did they always escape detection. It was common among the more zealous crusaders to impress the cross on their flesh; but some impostors professed to have received the mark by miracle.[c] Among them was a monk who found himself unable to raise money for his outfit by other means, but who, by displaying the cross on his forehead and pretending that it had been stamped by an angel, succeeded in collecting large contributions. The fraud was detected in the Holy Land; but his general conduct on the expedition had been so respectable that he afterwards obtained promotion, and eventually became archbishop of Cæsarea.[d]

The festival of the Assumption (August 15) had been

[t] Chron. Casin. iv. 11.
[u] Wilken, i. 61; Sybel, 283.
[x] Orderic. Vital. iii. 468. Guibert of Nogent mentions the cessation of robbery and arson as an effect of publishing the crusade. ii. 3, fin.
[y] Michaud, i. 68.
[z] Baldric. 1070.
[a] Will. Tyr. i. 16; Giesel. II. vi. 42.
[b] Ekkehard, 214-15.
[c] Guib. Novig. viii. 9.
[d] Ib. iv. 7-8.

fixed on for the commencement of the expedition; but long before that time the impatience of the multitude was unable to restrain itself. Peter was urged to set out, and in the beginning of March he crossed the Rhine at Cologne, at the head of a motley host, of which the other leaders were a knight named Walter of Pacy,[e] and his nephew Walter "the Pennyless."[f] A separation then took place; the military chiefs went on, with the more vigorous of their followers, and promised to wait for Peter and the rest at Constantinople.[g] A second swarm followed under a priest named Gottschalk, and a third under another priest named Folkmar, with whom was joined count Emicho, a man notorious for his violent and lawless character.[h] Each successive crowd was worse than that which had preceded it; among them were old and infirm men, children of both sexes, women of loose virtue—some of them in male attire;[i] they were without order or discipline, most of them unprovided with armour or money, having no idea of the distance of Jerusalem, or of the difficulties to be encountered by the way.[k] Emicho's host was composed of the very refuse of the people,

[e] "De Pexeio." The editors of the 'Recueil des Historiens' (Index to vol. xii.) and Lappenberg (ii. 213) identify this place with Pacy on the Eure. Others suppose it to be Poissy, of which the more usual Latin name is *Pisciacum*.

[f] *Sensaveir, Sine-habere* (W. Tyr. i. 18), or *Sine-pecunia* (Fulcher, i. 2, c. 831)—in German, *Habenichts*.

[g] Alb. Aq. i. 7-8; Wilken, i. 80. "The early crusaders followed the routes used by the commercial caravans which carried on the trade between Germany, Constantinople, and Syria." Finlay, Med. Greece and Trebizond, 83.

[h] Ekkehard, 215, who calls Gottschalk "non verus sed falsus *Dei servus*." (See above, vol. iii. p. 350, note [q].)

Matthew Paris, however (two centuries and a half later), speaks of him as "gratiam habens exhortationis, utpote vir litteratus et generosus atque magnanimus." (Hist. Angl. i. 65.) Ekkehard mentions (A.D. 1117) that Emicho was slain, and (A.D. 1123) that his spirit appeared, with that of other military oppressors, armed and mounted, and entreating prayers and alms for their deliverance from torment.

[i] Bernold, Ann. 1096; Annal. S. Disib., 1096.

[k] Wilken, i. 76. Guibert speaks of peasants who put themselves, with their families and all that they had, into carts drawn by oxen, and so went on the crusade, while, as each town or castle came in sight, their children asked, "Is this Jerusalem?"

animated by the vilest fanaticism. It is said that their march was directed by the movements of a goose and a goat, which were supposed to be inspired.[1] Their passage through the towns of the Moselle and the Rhine, the Maine and the Danube, was marked by the plunder and savage butchery of the Jewish inhabitants, who in other quarters also suffered from the fury excited among the multitude against all enemies of the Christian name. Bishops endeavoured to rescue the victims by admitting them to a temporary profession of Christianity; but some of the more zealous Jews shut themselves up in their houses, slew their children, and disappointed their persecutors by burning themselves with all their property.[m]

No provision had been made for the subsistence of these vast hordes in the countries through which they were to pass. Their dissoluteness, disorder, and plundering habits raised the populations of Hungary and Bulgaria against them;[n] and the later swarms suffered for the misdeeds of those who had gone before. Gottschalk and his followers were destroyed in Hungary, after having been treacherously persuaded to lay down their arms.[o]

[1] Alb. Aq. i. 31; Guib. Novig. viii. 9. See Michelet, iii. 25; Wilken, i. 96; Michaud, i. 88-90. Dean Milman quotes from Billings on 'The Temple Church' (but without confidently adopting it), an explanation which connects these creatures with gnosticism. Note on Gibbon, v. 418.

[m] Ekkehard, Ann. 1096; Annal. Saxo, 729; Gesta Treverorum, c. 17, ap. Pertz, viii.; Alb. Aq. i. 26; Annal. S. Disib., 1096. Guibert of Nogent relates that, while some were making their preparations for the crusade at Rouen, they began to ask, "Why should we go so far to attack God's enemies, when we have before our eyes the Jews, than whom no nation is more bitter in enmity to Him?" They then drove the Jews into a church, and murdered all, of whatever sex or age, who refused to become Christians. (De Vita sua, ii 5, Patrol. clvi.) Hugh of Flavigny has a curious passage—"Certe mirum videri potest quad una die pluribus in locus exterminatio illa [Judæorum] facta est, quanquam a multis improbetur factum et religioni adversari judicetur. Scimus tamen quia non potuit immutari quin fieret, cum multi sacerdotes, data excommunicationis sententia, multi principes, terrore comminationis, id perturbare conati sint." Chron. l. ii., Patrol. cliv. 353.

[n] Ekkehard, 215; Alb. Aq. i. 7-13; Guib. Novig. ii. 4; Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1096.

[o] Alb. Aq. i. 25; Will. Tyr. i. 27-8; Wilken, i. 96.

Others were turned back from the frontier of that country, or struggled home to tell the fate of their companions, who had perished in battles and sieges; while want and fatigue aided the sword of their enemies in its ravages.[p] The elder Walter died at Philippopoli;[q] but his nephew and Peter the Hermit struggled onwards, and reached Constantinople with numbers which, although greatly diminished, were still imposing and formidable.[r]

The emperor Alexius was alarmed by the unexpected form in which the succour which he had requested presented itself; and the thefts and unruliness of the strangers disturbed the peace of his capital.[s] It is said that he was impressed by the eloquence of Peter, and urged him to wait for the arrival of the other crusaders; but the hermit's followers were resolved to fight, and the emperor was glad to rid himself of them by conveying them across the Bosphorus.[t] A great battle took place under the walls of Nicæa, the city which had been hallowed for Christians by the first general council, but which had become the capital of the Turkish kingdom. Walter the Pennyless, a brave soldier, who had energetically striven against the difficulties of his position, was slain, with most of his followers. Many were made prisoners, and some of them even submitted to apostatize. The Turks, after their victory, fell on the camp, where they slaughtered the unarmed and helpless multitude; and the bones of those who had fallen were gathered into a vast heap, which remained as a monument of their luckless enterprise.[u] The scanty remains of the host were rescued by Alexius, at the request of Peter, who had

[p] Bernold, A.D. 1096.

[q] Order. Vital. iii. 479.

[r] Walter arrived on Aug. 1. Sybel, 250.

[s] Anna Comnena, l. x. p. 283, ed. Paris; Guib. Novig. iv. 2; Baldr. 1071; Gibbon, v. 431. Anna says that the crusaders were preceded by swarms of locusts. p. 284.

[t] Anna Comn. p. 286; Rob. S. Rem. i. 3.

[u] Id. 4; Anna Comn. x. p. 287; Alb. Aq. i. 22.

returned to Constantinople in disgust at the disorderly character of his companions; they sold their arms to the emperor, and endeavoured to find their way back to their homes.[x] It is reckoned that in these ill-conducted expeditions half a million of human beings had already perished, without any other effect than that of adding to the confidence of the enemy, who dispersed the armour of the slain over the east in proof that the Franks were not to be dreaded.[y]

In the meantime the more regular forces of the crusaders were preparing. Every country of the west, with the exception of Spain, where the Christians were engaged in their own continual holy war with the infidels,[z] sent its contributions to swell the array.[a] Germany, at enmity with the papacy, had not been visited by the preachers of the crusade, and, when the crowds of pilgrims began to stream through the country, the inhabitants mocked at them as crazy, in leaving certainties for wild adventure; but by degrees, and as the more disciplined troops appeared among them, the Germans too caught the contagion of enthusiasm. Visions in the sky—combats of airy warriors, and a beleaguered city—added to the excitement. It was said that Charlemagne had risen from his grave to be the leader, and preachers appeared who promised to conduct those who should follow them dry-shod through the sea.[b]

[x] Alb. Aq. i. 23; Baldr. 1073; Order. iii. 491; Wilken, i. 88-94; Michaud, i. 94; Sybel, 254.

[y] Raym. de Agiles, 5; Guib. Novig. ii. 5; Wilken, i. 101. Heeren observes that the estimates of the crusaders, being formed merely by conjecture, must be received with much distrust (8ª). Fulcher of Chartres reckons the fighting men of the first crusade at 600,000, and the whole multitude at ten times that number! i. 4; comp. Alb. Aq. iii. 37; Choiseul-Daillecourt, 28; Gibbon, v. 436-7.

[z] This was the age of the Cid, whose death is placed in 1090. Pagi, xviii. 109.

[a] William of Malmesbury takes the opportunity to satirize his neighbours —"Tunc Wallensis venationem saltuum, tunc Scottus familiaritatem pulicum, tunc Danus continuationem potuum, tunc Noricus cruditatem reliquit piscium." 533.

[b] Ekkehard, 214-15.

Of the chiefs, the most eminent by character was Godfrey of Bouillon, son of Count Eustace of Boulogne, who had accompanied William of Normandy in the invasion of England, and descended from the Carolingian family through his mother, the saintly Ida, a sister of Godfrey the Hunchbacked.[c] In his earlier years, Godfrey had been distinguished as a partisan of the emperor. It is said that at the Elster, where he carried the banner of the empire, he gave Rudolf of Swabia his death wound by driving the shaft into his breast, and that he was the first of Henry's army to mount the walls of Rome.[d] His services had been rewarded by Henry with the marquisate of Antwerp after the death of his uncle Godfrey, and to this was added in 1089 the dukedom of Lower Lorraine, which had been forfeited by the emperor's rebel son Conrad.[e] A fever which he had caught at Rome long disabled him for active exertion; but at the announcement of the crusade he revived, and—partly perhaps from a feeling of penitence for his former opposition to the pope—he vowed to join the enterprise, for which he raised the necessary funds by pledging his castle of Bouillon, in the Ardennes, to the bishop of Liége.[f] Godfrey is described by the chroniclers as resembling a

[c] Genealog. Comitum Buloniensum, ap. Pertz, ix. 300-1; Vita Idæ, Patrol. clv.; Order. Vital. iii. 612.

[d] W. Tyr. ix. 8; W. Malmesb. 572; Gibbon, v. 423; Wilken, i. 68. Von Sybel rejects the accounts of Godfrey's earlier history, and labours to show that his character has been unduly exalted and idealized. (262, 535, seqq.) See Giesebr. iii. 370.

[e] Sigebert, Ann. 1089; Luden, ix. 65.

[f] Alb. Aq. v. 13; W. Tyr. ix. 8; W. Malmesb. 574; Michaud, i. 96. As the castle, from its position, had been a source of great annoyance to the people of the diocese, the bishop, Otbert, (who will be mentioned again hereafter) was so anxious to get possession of it, that for this purpose he stripped St. Lambert's relics of their golden case, and sold the ornaments of his churches. It was to become permanently the property of the see, unless redeemed within a certain time by Godfrey or one of his next three successors; and so it remained (Gesta Pontif. Leodiens. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 607). See the 'Triumphale Bulonicum' of Reiner, a monk of Liége, i. 1 (Patrol. cciv.), where it is said that Godfrey's brother Eustace, on returning from the Holy Land, renounced all claim to it.

monk rather than a knight in the mildness of his ordinary demeanour, but as a lion in the battle-field—as wise in counsel, disinterested in purpose, generous, affable, and deeply religious.[g] Among the other chiefs were his brothers Eustace and Baldwin; Hugh of Vermandois, brother of the king of France; the counts Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Flanders, Stephen of Blois and Chartres; and Robert duke of Normandy, the brave, thoughtless, indolent son of William the Conqueror.[h] Each leader was wholly independent of the others, and the want of an acknowledged head became the cause of many disasters.[i]

In order that the passage of the army might not press too severely on any country, it was agreed that its several divisions should proceed to Constantinople by different routes.[k] Godfrey, at the head of 10,000 horse and 80,000 foot, took the way through Hungary, where his prudence was successfully exerted in overcoming the exasperation raised by the irregular bands which had preceded him.[l] The crusaders from Southern France in general went through Italy, and thence by sea either to the ports of Greece and Dalmatia, or direct to Constantinople.[m] A large force of Normans, under Roger of Sicily and Bohemund, the son of Robert Guiscard by his first marriage, were engaged in the siege of Amalfi, when Hugh of Vermandois with his crusaders arrived in the neighbourhood. The enthusiasm of the strangers infected the besiegers, and Bohemund, who had been disinherited in favour of his half-brother, and had been obliged to content himself with the principality of Tarentum, resolved to turn the enterprise to his own advantage. He raised the

[g] Radulph. Cadom. 14; Rob. S. Rem. i. 3; W. Tyr. ix. 5.

[h] Urban. Ep. ad Alex. Comn. ap. Hard. 1645; Radulph. Cadom. 15.

[i] Sybel, 283.

[k] Wilken, i. 77.

[l] Ekkehard, 215; Alb. Aq. ii. 6; Wilken, i. 104.

[m] Fulcher, i. 2; W Tyr. ii. 17, seqq.

cry of "God wills it!" and, sending for a mantle of great value, caused it to be cut up into crosses, which he distributed among the eager soldiers, by whose defection Roger found himself compelled to abandon the siege. The new leader was distinguished by deep subtlety and selfishness; but with him was a warrior of very opposite fame—his cousin or nephew Tancred, whose character has (perhaps not without some violence to facts) been idealized into the model of Christian chivalry.[n]

The gradual appearance of the crusading forces at Constantinople renewed the uneasiness of Alexius, and the accession of Bohemund, who had been known to him of old in Guiscard's wars against the empire, was especially alarming.[o] That the emperor treated his allies with a crafty, jealous, distrustful policy, is certain, even from the panegyrical history of his daughter Anna Comnena;[p] but the statements of the Latin chroniclers[q] are greatly at variance with those of the Byzantine princess, and it would seem that there is no foundation for the darker charges of treachery which they advance against Alexius.[r] Godfrey was obliged to resort to force in order to establish an understanding with him;[s] and the emperor then took another method of proceeding. While obliged to entertain his unwelcome visitors during the remainder of the winter season, he plied the leaders with flattery and with gifts, and obtained from one after another of them an act of homage, with a promise to resign to him such parts of their expected conquests as had

A.D. 1097.

[n] Tudeb. l. i. col. 767; Rob. S. Rem. ii. 2; Guib. Novig. iii. 2; Chron. Casin. iv. 11; Lupus Protospatha, Ann. 1096, ap. Pertz, v.; Orderic, iii. 487; Wilken, i. 123-4. As to Tancred's parentage, see Giannone, l. ix. c. 7; Murat. Ann. VI. i. 73. Sir F. Palgrave makes Bohemund a deep mover in the crusade from the first.

[o] Anna Comn. l. x. pp. 285, 302-5; Tudeb. l. ii. col. 770; Guib. Novig. iv. 21.

[p] Pp. 293, seqq.

[q] See, *e.g.*, Will. Malmesbr. 525; R. de Agiles, *passim*; Ekkehard, 216; Rad. Cadom. 9; Chron. S. Pantaleon. ap. Eccard. i. 912.

[r] Schröckh, xxv. 64; Wilken, i. 109.

[s] A. Comn. p. 294; Guib. Novig. ii. 6; W. Tyr. ii. 6-8.

formerly belonged to the empire; in return for which he promised to provide for their supply on the march, and to follow with an army for their support. He skilfully decoyed one party across the Bosphorus before the arrival of another; and by Whitsuntide 1097 the whole host had passed into Asia.[t] They had been joined at Constantinople by Peter the Hermit,[u] and were accompanied by an imperial commissioner, whose golden substitute for a nose excited the wonder and distrust of the Franks.[x]

The Turks of Roum were now before them, and, on approaching the capital of the kingdom, their zeal and rage were excited by the sight of the hill of bones which marked the place where Walter and his companions had fallen.[y] Nicæa was besieged from the 14th of May to the 20th of June, but on its capture the Latins were disappointed of their expected plunder by finding that the Turks, when it became untenable, had been induced by the imperial commissioner to make a secret agreement for surrendering it to Alexius. The discovery filled them with disgust and indignation, which were hardly mitigated by the presents which the emperor offered by way of compensation; and they eagerly looked for an opportunity of requiting their perfidious ally.[z] A fortnight later was fought the battle of Dorylæum, in which the fortune of the day is said to have been turned by heavenly champions, who descended to aid the Christians.[a] The victory was so decisive that

July 4.

[t] A. Comn. pp. 298-300; Rob. S. Rem. ii. 3; Guib. Novig. iii. 2; Order. Vital. iii. 499; Gibbon, v. 432-5; Wilken, i. 119-21; Michaud, i. 111-17; Sybel, 319, seqq.

[u] Alb. Aq. ii. 19.

[x] "Naso desciso, et ob id utens aureo" (Guib. Novig. iv. 4). "Nares habens mutilas, in signum mentis perversæ" (W. Tyr. ii. 23). "Qui in naso simo mentis proditionem satis indicabat" (Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. i. 93.

[y] Wilken, i. 141.

[z] A. Comn. l. xi. pp. 310-11; Alb. Aq. ii. 22-7; R. Agil. 4; Fulcher, i. 4; Guib. Novig. iii. 5; Baldr. 1083-4; W. Tyr. iii. 11; Ord. Vital. iii. 506-7; Wilken, i. 150.

[a] R. Agil. 6 (who, however, adds,

the sultan of Roum was driven to seek support among the brethren of his race and religion in the east.[b]

The army had already suffered severely, and, as it advanced through Asia Minor, it was continually thinned by skirmishes and sieges, by the difficulties of the way, and by scarcity of food and water.[c] The greater part of the horses perished, and their riders endeavoured to supply their place by cows and oxen—nay, it is said, by the large dogs and rams of the country.[d] Godfrey was for a time disabled by wounds received in an encounter with a savage bear.[e] Disunion appeared among the leaders,[f] and some of them began to show a preference of their private interests to the great object of the expedition.[g] Baldwin, disregarding the remonstrances of his companions, accepted an invitation to assist a Christian prince or tyrant of Edessa, who adopted him and promised to make him his heir. The prince's subjects rose against him, and, in endeavouring to escape by an outlet in the wall of the city, he was pierced with arrows before reaching the ground, whereupon Baldwin established himself in his stead.[h] But the great mass of the crusaders held on their march for Jerusalem.

At length they arrived in Syria, and on the 18th of October laid siege to Antioch. The miseries endured during this siege, which lasted eight months, were frightful. The tents of the crusaders were demolished by the winds, or were rotted by the heavy rains, which converted

"Sed nos non vidimus"); Michaud, i. 143-7. Here we meet with a well-known name,—"Robertus vero Parisiensis, miseris volens succurrere, sagitta volatili confixus et extinctus est" (Alb. Aq. ii. 39). Anna Comnena says that the Frank who, at the homage to Alexius, took the emperor's seat, was badly wounded at Dorylæum (pp. 300-1, 317); and Ducange favours the opinion of his identity with Robert. Not. p. 362.

[b] Alb. Aq. iv. 1-7; Gibbon, v. 440.

[c] Ib. 438; Wilken, i. 157.

[d] Rob. S. Rem. iii. 4; Tudeb. ii. 3.

[e] Alb. Aq. iii. 21; W. Tyr. iii. 18.

[f] Alb. Aq. iii. 8-11.

[g] Michaud, i. 141.

[h] Fulcher, i. 6; Alb. Aq. iii. 19-24 Guib. Novig. iii. 6; W. Tyr. iv. 5 Wilken, i. 167-9; Sybel, 376.

their encampment into a swamp;[1] their provisions had been thoughtlessly wasted in the beginning of the siege, and they were soon brought to the extremity of distress; the flesh of horses, camels, dogs, and mice, grass and thistles, leather and bark, were greedily devoured; and disease added its ravages to famine.[k] Parties which were sent out to forage were unable to find any supplies, and returned with their numbers diminished by the attacks of the enemy.[l] The horses were reduced from 70,000 to less than 1000, and even these were mostly unfit for service.[m] Gallant knights lost their courage and deserted; among them was Stephen of Blois, who, under pretence of sickness, withdrew to Alexandretta, with the intention of providing for his own safety if the enterprise of his comrades should miscarry.[n] The golden-nosed Greek commissioner, looking on the ruin of the crusaders as certain, obtained leave to depart by promising to return with reinforcements and supplies, but was careful not to reappear.[o] Peter the Hermit, unable to bear the privations of the siege, and perhaps the reproaches of the multitude, ran away, with William, count of Melun, who, from the heaviness of his blows, was styled "the Carpenter"; but the fugitives were brought back by order of Bohemund, who made them swear to remain with the army.[p] Yet in the midst of these sufferings the camp of the crusaders was a scene of gross licentiousness, until the legate Adhemar compelled them to remove all women from it, to give up gaming, and to seek deliverance from their distress by penitential exercises.[q] As the spring advanced, the condition of the army improved;

[1] Fulch. i. 7; Rob. S. Rem. iv. 2; Alb. Aq. iii. 52; W. Tyr. iv. 17.

[k] R. Agil. 5.

[l] W. Tyr. iv. 17.

[m] Ans. de Ribodim. col. 473; Tudeb. l. ii. col. 780; R. Agil. 8; Alb. Aq. iv. 28.

[n] Fulch. i. 7; Alb. Aq. iii. 14; Tudeb. col. 794; W. Tyr. v. 10.

[o] Tudeb. l. ii. col. 780; Guib. Novig. iv. 51; W. Tyr. iv. 21.

[p] Rob. S. Rem. iv. 3; Tudeb. col. 779; Guib. iv. 4.

[q] R. Agil. 8; W. Tyr. iv. 21.

supplies of provisions were obtained from Edessa, and from Genoese ships which had arrived in the harbour of St. Symeon; most of the deserters returned; and on the 2nd of June, through the treachery of one Firuz, who had opened a negotiation with Bohemund, and professed to embrace Christianity, the crusaders got possession of the city, although the fortress still remained in the hands of the enemy.[r]

The capture of Antioch was marked by barbarous and shameful excesses.[s] All who refused to become Christians were ruthlessly put to the sword.[t] The crusaders, unwarned by their former distress, recklessly wasted their provisions, and when, soon after, an overwhelming force of Turks appeared, under Kerboga, prince of Mosul, who had been sent by the sultan of Bagdad to the relief of Antioch, they found themselves shut up between these new enemies and the garrison of the fortress.[u] Their sufferings soon became more intense than ever. The most loathsome food was sold at exorbitant prices; old hides, thongs, and shoe-leather were steeped in water, and were greedily devoured;[x] even human flesh was eaten. Warriors were reduced to creep feebly about the silent streets, supporting themselves on staves.[y] The cravings of famine levelled all ranks; nobles sold their horses and arms to buy food, begged without shame, or intruded themselves unbidden at the meals of meaner men; while some, in despair and indifference to life, with-

[r] Radulph. Cadom. 58-72; Alb. Aq. iv. 20-6; Rob. S. Rem. v. 4; Baldr. col. 1102; Will. Tyr. v. 11-23; W. Malmesb. 556-8; Ord. Vital. 524, seqq.; Gibbon, v. 442-6; Wilken, i. 176-201; Michaud, ii. 10-41; Sybel, 383-410. Firuz afterwards relapsed. The Franks called him Pyrrhus, and thus he came under the odium attached to the traditional complexion of Judas. "Si enim *Pyrrhus* Græce *rufus* est Latine, et infidelitatis nota rufis inuritur, isdem ergo a sua minime linea exorbitasse probatur." Guib. Novig. vi. 5.

[s] Order. Vital. iii. 540; Rad. Cad. 67.

[t] Ans. de Ribodim. col. 474.

[u] Fulch. i. 11; Alb. Aq. iv. 1; Ans. de Ribodim. col. 474.

[x] R. Agil. 16; Tudeb. col. 797. Alb. Aq. iv. 34; Baldr. col. 1117.

[y] W. Tyr. vi. 7.

drew to hide themselves and to die.[z] Many deserted, —William the Carpenter being especially noted among them for the violation of his late oath; and while some of these were cut off by the enemy, others surrendered themselves and apostatized.[a] Rumours of the distress which prevailed, even exaggerated (if exaggeration were possible), reached Stephen of Blois in his retreat; regarding the condition of his brethren as hopeless, he set out on his return to the west, and, on meeting Alexius, who was advancing with reinforcements, he gave such a representation of the case as furnished the emperor with a pretext for turning back, and leaving his allies to a fate which seemed inevitable.[b]

In the extremity of this misery, Peter Bartholomés, a disreputable priest of Marseilles, announced a revelation which he professed to have thrice received in visions from St. Andrew—that the lance which pierced the Redeemer's side was to be found in the church of St. Peter. The legate made light of the story; but Raymond of Toulouse, to whose force Peter was attached, insisted on a search, and, after thirteen men had dug a whole day, the head of a lance was found.[c] The crusaders passed at once from despair to enthusiasm. Peter the Hermit was sent to Kerboga, with a message desiring him to withdraw; but the infidel scornfully replied by vowing that the invaders should be compelled to embrace the faith of Islam, and the Christians resolved to fight. After a solemn preparation by prayer, fasting, and administration of the holy eucharist, all that could be mustered of effective soldiers made a sally from the city, with the

[z] Rad. Cad. 73, seqq.; Alb. Aq. iv. 36, seqq.; R. S. Rem. vi. 3; W. Tyr. vi. 7; Order. Vital. iii. 546-51; Wilken, i. 210; Michaud, ii. 45-7.

[a] Guib. Novig. vi. 3.

[b] Anna Comn. l. xi. pp. 324-5; Alb. Aq. iv. 37-40; W. Tyr. vi. 9-12.

[c] R. Agil. 14-15; Alb. Aq. iv. 44-7; W. Tyr. vi. 14. See the Hist. Langued. ii. 309-10. Anna Comnena confounds this Peter with the Hermit and with Adhemar. l. xi. p. 326.

sacred lance borne by the legate's chaplain, the chronicler Raymond of Agiles.[d] The Saracens, divided among themselves by fierce dissensions, fled before the unexpected attack, leaving behind them an immense mass of spoil; and again the victory of the Christians was ascribed to the aid of celestial warriors, who are said to have issued from the neighbouring mountains in countless numbers, riding on white horses, and armed in dazzling white.[e] The fortress was soon after surrendered into their hands;[f] but the unburied corpses which poisoned the air produced a violent pestilence, and among its earliest victims was the pious and martial legate Adhemar.[g] Fatal as this visitation was to those who had been enfeebled by the labours and privations of the siege, it was yet more so to a force of 1500 Germans, who arrived by sea soon after its appearance, and were cut off almost to a man.[h] Godfrey, fearing a return of the malady which he had caught at Rome, sought safety from the plague by withdrawing for a time into the territory of his brother, Baldwin of Edessa.[i] June 29.

A report of the capture of Antioch and of the legate's death was sent off to Urban, with a request that he would come in person to take possession of St. Peter's eastern see, and would follow up the victory over the unbelievers by reducing the schismatical Christians of the east to the communion of the Roman church.[k] In the meantime

[d] R. Agil. 17; Ans. de Ribodim. col. 475; Rob. S. Rem. vii. 2; Tudeb. col. 800. See the extracts from Mussulman writers in Michaud, Bibl. des Croisades, iv. 9.

[e] Rob. S. Rem. vii. 3-4; Baldr. col. 1123; Fulcher, i. 14; Will. Tyr. vi. 18-22; Rad. Cad. 100; Orderic, iii. 548-59; Wilken, i. 213-24; Michaud, ii. 50-9. Firuz is said, in a conference with Bohemund, to have asked where were the quarters of a troop, armed in white and riding white horses, which in every encounter spread destruction among the infidels; and the question revealed to the crusaders that they were supported by superhuman aid. Rob. S. Rem. v. 4.

[f] Id. vii. 4; Tudeb. col. 800.

[g] Alb. Aq. v. 4; Baldr. col. 1127.

[h] Alb. Aq. v. 23; W. Tyr. vii. 8.

[i] Alb. Aq. v. 13.

[k] The letter is in Fulcher, i 15.

the Greek patriarch was reinstated, although he soon found himself compelled to give way to a Latin ;[l] and, after much discussion between the chiefs who asserted and those who denied that the conduct of Alexius had released them from their promise to him, Bohemund, in fulfilment of a promise which he had exacted as the condition of his obtaining the surrender of the city, was established as prince of Antioch.[m]

Although the discovery of the holy lance had been the means of leading the crusaders to victory, the imposture was to cost its author dear. The Normans, when offended by his patron Raymond of Toulouse in the advance to Jerusalem, ridiculed the idea of St. Andrew's having chosen such a man for the medium of a revelation, and declared that the lance, which was clearly of Saracen manufacture, had been hidden by Peter himself. Peter offered, in proof of his veracity, to undergo the ordeal of passing between two burning piles, and the trial took place on Good Friday 1099. He was severely scorched ; but the multitude, who supposed him to have come out unhurt, crowded round him, threw him down in their excitement, and, in tearing his clothes into relics, pulled off pieces of his flesh with them. In consequence of this treatment he died on the twelfth day ; but to the last he maintained the credit of his story, and it continued to find many believers.[n]

[l] Alb. Aq. v. 1 ; Will. Tyr. vi. 23.

[m] Rob. S. Rem. v. 4 ; viii. 1 ; R. Agil. 8, 21 ; Baldr. col. 1104, 1128 ; Wilken, i. 265 ; Sybel, 455.

[n] Rad. Cadom. 102, 108 ; Tudeb. col. 807 ; R. Agil. 28-31 ; Will. Tyr. vii. 18. Guibert of Nogent is indignant with Fulcher for doubting the truth of the tale (Fulch. i. 10 ; Guib. viii. 9). Raymond of Agiles has a story of a priest to whom the legate Adhemar appeared after death, saying, "Ego sum in choro cum beato Nicolao, sed quia de lancea Domini dubitavi, qui maxime credere debuissem, deductus sum in infernum, ibique capilli mei, ex hac dextera parte capitis, et medietas barbæ combusta est ; et licet in pœna non sim, tamen clare Deum videre non potero, donec capilli et barba sicut fantea uerant mihi succreverint" (27). The chronicler also relates that he himself had secretly doubted, and was put to confusion by finding, after the ordeal, that Peter had been informed of his doubts by a

The ravages of the plague, and the necessity of recruiting their strength after the sufferings which they had undergone, detained the crusaders at Antioch until March of the following year.[o] A.D. 1099. Three hundred thousand, it is said, had reached Antioch, but famine and disease, desertion and the sword, had reduced their force to little more than 40,000, of whom only 20,000 foot and 1500 horse were fit for service;[p] and on the march to Jerusalem their numbers were further thinned in sieges and in encounters with the enemy, so that at last there remained only 12,000 effective foot-soldiers, and from 1200 to 1300 horse.[q] Aided by the terror of the crusade, the Fatimite Arabs had succeeded in recovering Jerusalem from the Turks; and before Antioch the Christian leaders had received from the caliph an announcement of his conquest, with an offer to rebuild their churches and to protect their religion, if they would come to him as peaceful pilgrims. But they disdained to admit any distinction among the followers of the false prophet, and replied that, with God's help, they must win and hold the land which He had bestowed on their fathers.[r] On the 6th of June, after a night during which their eagerness would hardly allow them to rest, they arrived in sight of the holy city. A cry of "Jerusalem! Jerusalem! It is the will of God!" burst forth, while with many the excess of joy could only find vent in tears and sighs. All threw themselves on their knees, and kissed the sacred ground. But

vision of the blessed Virgin with bishop Adhemar (28). Matthew Paris (of the 13th century) says that the lance was proved to be genuine "per copiosum ignis incendium, tam in ligno quam in mucrone." Hist. Angl. i. 133.

[o] Wilken, i. 253.

[p] R. Agil. 25; Gibbon, v. 452; Michaud, ii. 81.

[q] R. Agil. 38. The chronicler of St. Pantaleon's, at Cologne, says that in this march they suffered from hunger to such a degree as to eat "corpora Sarracenorum jam fœtentium." Eccard, i. 913.

[r] Ekkehard, 217; Rob S Rem. v. 1; W. Tyr. vii. 23.

for the necessity of guarding against attack, they would have continued their pilgrimage with bare feet; and they surveyed with eager credulity the traditional scenes of the Gospel story, which were pointed out by a hermit of Mount Olivet.[s] The Christians who had been expelled from the city, and had since been miserably huddled together in the surrounding villages, crowded to them with tales of cruelty and profanation, which raised their excitement still higher. Trusting in their enthusiasm, and expecting miraculous aid, they at once assaulted the walls; but they were unprovided with the necessary engines, and met with a disastrous repulse.[t]

During the siege of forty days which followed, although those who could afford to buy were well supplied with food and wine,[u] the crusaders in general suffered severely from hunger, and yet more from the fierce thirst produced by the heats of midsummer, and from the burning south wind of that parched country. The brooks were dried; the cisterns had been destroyed or poisoned, and the wells had been choked up by the enemy; water was brought in skins from a distance by peasants, and was sold at extravagant prices, but such was its impurity that many died of drinking it;[x] the horses and mules were led six miles to water, exposed to the assaults of the Arabs; many of them died, and the camp was infected by the stench of their unburied bodies.[y] The want of wood was a serious difficulty for the besiegers. In order to remedy this, the buildings of the neighbourhood were pulled down, and their timber was employed in constructing engines of war;[z] but the supply was insufficient, until Tancred (according to his biographer) accidentally

[s] Rad. Cad. 111-13; Baldr. col. 1139; W. Tyr. vii. 24-5.

[t] Fulcher, i. 18; Will. Tyr. vii. 23; Michaud, ii. 92-4.

[u] Fulcher, i. 18; Alb. Aq. vi. 7.

[x] R. Agil. 35; Alb. Aq. vi. 6; Guib. Novig. vii. 2; Will. Tyr. viii. 4.

[y] Baldr. col. 1141; Will. Tyr. viii. 7; Order. Vital. iii. 602.

[z] Baldr. col. 1141.

found in a cave some long beams which had been used as scaling-ladders by the Arabs in the late siege, and two hundred men under his command brought trees from a forest in the hills near Nablous.[a] All—nobles and common soldiers alike—now laboured at the construction of machines, while the defenders of the city were engaged in similar works, with better materials and implements. But the Christians received an unexpected aid by means of a Genoese fleet which opportunely arrived at Joppa. The sailors, finding themselves threatened by an overwhelming naval force from Egypt, forsook their ships and joined the besiegers of Jerusalem, bringing to them an ample supply of tools, and superior skill in the use of them.[b] At length the works were completed, and the crusaders, in obedience, it is said, to a vision of the legate Adhemar, prepared by solemn religious exercises for the attack of the city. After having moved in slow procession around the walls, they ascended the Mount of Olives, where addresses were delivered by Peter the Hermit and Arnulf, a chaplain of Robert of Normandy. The princes composed their feuds, and all confessed their sins and implored a blessing on their enterprise, while the Saracens from the walls looked on with amazement, and endeavoured to provoke them by setting up crosses, which they treated with every sort of execration and contempt.[c] On the 14th of July a second assault was made. The besiegers, old and young, able-bodied and infirm, women as well as men, rushed with enthusiasm to the work. The towering structures, which had been so laboriously built, on being advanced to the walls, were opposed by the machines of the enemy; beams and long grappling-hooks were thrust forth to overthrow them; showers of

[a] Rad. Cad. 120-1; Michaud, ii. 97, who, in his appendix, identifies this with the ancient forest of Sharon.

[b] W. Tyr. viii. 8-10. Cf. Cafar in Pertz, xviii. 44.

[c] R. Agil. 36-7; W. Tyr. 8, 11.

arrows, huge stones, burning pitch and oil, Greek fire, were poured on the besiegers; but their courage did not quail, their engines stood firm, and the hides with which these were covered resisted all attempts to ignite them. The fight was kept up for twelve hours, and at night the Christians retired.[d] Next day the contest was renewed, with even increased fury. As a last means of disabling the great engine which was the chief object of their dread, the Saracens brought forward two sorceresses, who assailed it with spells and curses; but a stone from the machine crushed them, and their bodies fell down from the ramparts, amid the acclamations of the besiegers.[e] In the end, however, the crusaders were repulsed, and were on the point of yielding to despair, when Godfrey saw on the Mount of Olives a warrior waving his resplendent shield as a signal for another effort.[f] Adhemar and others of their dead companions are also said to have appeared in front of the assailants, and after a fierce struggle they became masters of the holy city—the form of the legate being the first to mount the breach. It was noted that the capture took place at the hour of three on the afternoon of a Friday—the day and the hour of the Saviour's passion.[g]

July 15.

The victory was followed by scenes of rapine, lust, and carnage, disgraceful to the Christian name. The crusaders, inflamed to madness by the thought of the wrongs inflicted on their brethren, by the remembrance of their own fearful sufferings, and by the obstinate resistance of the besieged, spared neither old man, woman, nor infant. They forced their way into houses, slew the inhabitants, and seized all the treasures that

[d] Alb. Aq. vi. 2-15; Guib. Novig. vii. 8; Will. Tyr. viii. 13.

[e] Ib. 15.

[f] "Miles, qui tamen postea non comparuit." (Ib. 16.) Compare an incident after the battle of Marathon. Herodot. vi. 124; Grote, iv. 473.

[g] R. Agil. 39; Tudeb. col. 816; Will. Tyr. viii. 18-22; Gibbon, v. 454; Wilken, i. 289; Michaud, ii. 107-8.

they could discover.[h] Seventy thousand Mahometans were massacred; many who had received a promise of life from the leaders were pitilessly slaughtered by the soldiery.[i] The thoroughfares were choked up with corpses; the temple and Solomon's porch, where some of the Saracens had made a desperate defence, were filled with blood to the height of a horse's knee; and, in the general rage against the enemies of Christ, the Jews were burnt in their synagogue.[k] Godfrey, who in the assault had distinguished himself by prodigious acts of valour, took no part in these atrocities, but, immediately after the victory, repaired in the dress of a pilgrim to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, to pour out his thanks for having been permitted to reach the sacred city. Many followed his example, relinquishing their savage work for tears of penitence and joy, and loading the altars with their spoil; but, by a revulsion of feeling natural to a state of high excitement, they soon returned to the work of butchery, and for three days Jerusalem ran with blood.[l] When weary of slaying, the crusaders employed the surviving Saracens in clearing the city of the dead bodies and burning them without the walls; and, having spared them until this labour was performed, they either killed them or sold them as slaves.[m]

Eight days after the taking of the city, the victors met for the election of a king. The names of various chiefs —among them, Robert of Normandy[n]—were proposed,

[h] Will. Tyr. viii. 20.

[i] Alb. Aq. vi. 23; Baldr. col. 1144; Will. Tyr. viii. 19.

[k] R. Agil. 38; Ekkehard, 217; Rad. Cad. 132-4; Guib. Novig. vii. 4; Will. Tyr. viii. 19; W. Malmesb. 568; Order. Vital. iii. 610-11. Lupus Protospatha (Ann. 1099, ap. Pertz, v.) exaggerates the number of victims to 200,000.

[l] Rob S. Rem. ix. 1; Alb. Aq. vi. 25; Tudeb. col. 817; Guib. Novig. vii. 4; Wilken, i. 297-8.

[m] Baldr. col. 1144; Guib. Novig. vii. 4.

[n] For Robert's exploits see Palgrave, who, writing as a historian of Normandy and England, makes him the principal figure in his account of the crusade. Matthew Paris says that the princes placed their candles on the altar, in expectation of a sign from

and, as the surest means of ascertaining their real characters, their attendants were questioned as to their private habits. Against Godfrey nothing was discovered, except that his devotion was such as sometimes to detain him at the accustomed hours of food—a charge which the electors regarded as implying not a fault but a virtue. The duke of Lorraine, therefore, was chosen king of Jerusalem; but he refused to wear a crown of gold where the King of kings had been crowned with thorns, and contented himself with the style of "Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre." [o]

Godfrey had hardly been chosen when he was again summoned to arms by the appearance of a more numerous force of Saracens from Egypt, which had arrived too late to succour the garrison of Jerusalem.

Aug. 14. The crusaders were victorious in the battle of Askelon; [p] and, having thus secured the footing of their brethren in the Holy Land,[q] the great body of them returned to Europe, after having bathed in the Jordan, carrying with them palm-branches from Jericho, and relics of holy personages who, for the most part, had before been unheard of in the west.[r] Among

heaven: that Robert's candle was thrice miraculously lighted, but that he as often extinguished it—"inhians regno Angliæ, in quo se credebat desidem et illecebrosum quietius regnaturum." Hist. Angl. i. 149, 156.

[o] Tudeb. col. 818; Will. Tyr. ix. 2, 9; W. Malmesb. 576; Gibbon, v. 456.

[p] R. Agil. 42; Tudeb. col. 819; Fulcher, i. 19; Will. Tyr. ix. 10-12.

[q] Ekkehard, 217; Gibbon, v. 456.

[r] Fulcher, i. 20-2; Wilken, ii. 19; Mosheim, ii. 314. Edmer relates that Bohemund, when in Normandy in 1106, divided between St. Anselm and certain churches twelve hairs, which the patriarch of Antioch had given him, with the assurance that the blessed Virgin plucked them from her head as she stood mourning by the cross (Hist. Novorum, p. 75). Another crusader was so fortunate as, at the taking of Jerusalem, to find in the church of the holy sepulchre some nai with a similar history. They had been preserved by St. John and other "philo-Christi" — "quia hoc multorum saluti profuturum noverunt" (Order. Vital. iii. 608-9). Alberic of Trois-Fontaines (or the chronicler who is known under that name), relates that the legate Adhemar, when dying, gave our Lord's *sudarium* to a chaplain, with a letter directing that the bearer of the precious relic should have a canonry at Le Puy. But the

those who returned was Peter the Hermit, who spent the remainder of his days in a monastery of his own foundation at Huy, near Liége, until his death in 1115.[s]

The new kingdom was at first confined to the cities of Jerusalem and Joppa, with a small surrounding territory, but was gradually extended to the ancient boundaries of Palestine.[t] The French language was established; and, Godfrey, with the assistance of the most skilful advisers whom he could find, laid the foundation of a code of laws, derived from those of the west, and afterwards famous under the name of the "Assizes of Jerusalem."[u] After having held his dignity for little more than a year, Godfrey died amidst universal regret, and by his recommendation his brother, Baldwin of Edessa, was chosen to succeed him as king;[x] for the scruple which the hero of the crusade had felt as to this title was now regarded as unnecessary.[y] Crusaders and pilgrims continued to flock towards the Holy Land, excited less by the triumphs of their brethren than by sympathy for their sufferings; and in these expeditions many perished through the difficulties and dangers of the way.[z]

Aug. 17. 1100.

The patriarch of Jerusalem, who had been sent out of the city by the Arabs before the siege, had since died in Cyprus.[a] As at Antioch, a Latin patriarch was established; and the Greek Christians, who found themselves

chapter of Le Puy put no faith in this story, and the chaplain thereupon carried the relic to his native place, in the diocese of Perigueux. Bouq. xiii. 695.

[s] Gesta Pontif. Leod. ap. Bouquet, xiii. 607; Pagi, xviii. 270.

[t] Fulcher, ii. 2; Gibbon, v. 457. The principality of Antioch was annexed under Baldwin II. Fulcher, iii. 7.

[u] On these see Gibbon, v. 460; Wilken, i. 305, seqq., and supplement. In their present shape, the Assizes are a hundred and fifty years later, and Von Sybel thinks that the account of their origin is fabulous (517). The laws relating to judicial combat, and the titles of the rest, are given in the 'Patrologia,' vol. clv.

[x] Rad. Cad. 142-3; Wilken, ii. 59.

[y] See Fulcher, ii. 2.

[z] Wilken, ii. c. 12; Michaud, i. 137; x. 5.

[a] Alb. Aq. vi. 39.

persecuted as schismatics, were reduced to regret the days when they had lived under the government of the infidels.[b] Nor were the Latins free from serious dissensions among themselves. Arnulf, who has been already mentioned as having shared in animating the crusaders to the final assault, a man of ability, but turbulent, ambitious, and grossly immoral,[c] had contrived to get himself hastily elected to the patriarchate on the taking of Jerusalem, and had endeavoured to prevent the appointment of any secular head for the community.[d] He was set aside in favour of Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who arrived from Rome with a commission as legate in succession to Adhemar,[e] and is said to have obtained the support of the chiefs by means of wealth which he had acquired on a mission in Spain; but Daimbert was no less bent on establishing the supremacy of the hierarchy. Not content with persuading Godfrey and Bohemund to take investiture at his hands, he advanced claims of territory for the church which would have left the new royalty almost destitute; and Godfrey was glad, in the difficulties of his situation, to make a provisional compromise with the patriarch's demands.[f] The troubles thus begun continued to divide the kings and the patriarchs of Jerusalem, while the patriarchate itself was the subject of intrigues which led more than once to the deposition of its possessors.[g] The patriarch also had to contend with his brother of Antioch for precedence and jurisdiction;[h] and his authority was boldly defied by the great military orders which soon after arose.[i]

The diminished kingdom of Roum, of which Iconium

[b] Gibbon, v. 457.

[c] Will. Tyr. vii. 18; ix. 1; xi. 15, 26.

[d] R. Agil. 35, 40; Wilken, i. 301-6.

[e] Bernold, 466; Alb. Aq. vii. 7; Fulcher, i. 21; Guib. Novig. viii. 1.

[f] Will. Tyr. ix. 15-18; Wilken, ii. 53-5.

[g] See Alb. Aq. vi. 46-51, 58-62; viii. 16-17; Will. Tyr.; Schröckh, xxv. 86-90.

[h] Paschal II., Epp. 20, 28-9; Will Tyr. xi. 28.

[i] See below, ch. vii.

became the capital, was now isolated between the Latins of Syria and the Byzantine empire.[k] But although the crusaders had saved the empire of Alexius, his relations with them were of no friendly kind. They taxed him with perfidy, with deserting them in their troubles, with secretly stirring up the infidels against them.[l] They held themselves released by his conduct from the feudal obligations which they had contracted to him; Bohemund, who, after a captivity in the east, had revisited Europe, and had married a daughter of Philip of France,[m] even for a time alarmed the empire by a renewal of his father's projects against it.[n] Instead of effecting, as had been expected, a reconciliation between the eastern and the western churches, the crusade had the effect of embittering their hostility beyond the hope of cure.[o]

In endeavouring to estimate the crusades—the Trojan war of modern history[p] (as they have been truly styled)—we must not limit our consideration to their immediate purpose, to the means by which this was sought, or to the degree in which it was attained. They have often been condemned as undertaken for a chimerical object; as an unjust aggression on the possessors of the Holy Land; as having occasioned a lavish waste of life and treasure; as having inflicted great hardships on society by the transference of property, the impoverishment of families, and the heavy exactions for which they became the pretext; as having produced grievous misrule and disorder by drawing away prelates, nobles, and at length even sovereigns, from their duties of government at home to engage in the war with the infidels.[q] Much of this censure, however, seems

[k] Gibbon, v. 467. [l] Will. Tyr. x. 13.
[m] Fulcher, ii. 28.
[n] Bernold, 466; Anna Comn. xi.-xiii.; Fulcher, ii. 36-7; Alb. Aq. x. 39-43; Zonaras, xviii. 25; Wilken, b. ii. c. 18; Finlay, 143, seqq.
[o] Fleury, Discours, c. 9.
[p] See Heeren, 42.
[q] See Mosheim, ii. 312; Gibbon, v 411.

to be unfounded. The charge of injustice is a refinement which it is even now difficult to understand, and which would not have occurred to either the assailants or the assailed in an age when the feeling of local religion (however little countenanced by the new Testament) was as strong in the Christian as in the Jew or the Moslem—when the Christians regarded the holy places of the east as an inheritance of which they had been wrongfully despoiled, and which they could not without disgrace, or even sin, leave in the hands of the unbelievers.[r] But in truth the crusades were rather defensive than aggressive. They were occasioned by the advance of the new tribes which with the religion of Mahomet had taken up that spirit of conquest which had cooled and died away among the older Mahometan nations. They transferred to the east that war in defence of the faith which for ages had been carried on in Spain.[s] And while this was enough to justify the undertaking of the crusades, they led to results which were altogether unforeseen, but which far more than outweighed the temporary evils produced by these expeditions.[t]

The idea of a war for the recovery of the land endeared to Christians by the holiest associations was of itself a gain for the martial nations of the west—raising, as it did, their thoughts from the petty quarrels in which they had too generally wasted themselves, to unite their efforts in a hallowed and ennobling cause. It was by the crusades that the nations of Europe were first made known to each other as bound together by one common interest. Feudal relations were cast aside; every knight was at liberty to follow the banner of the leader whom he might prefer; instead of being confined to one small and narrow

[r] "Dominicæ sepulturæ, quam in Christianorum opprobrium, ad quos jure hæreditario spectat, irreverenter detinent Sarraceni." Annal. Januenses, ap. Pertz, xviii. 268.

[s] Guizot, i. 151; Mackintosh, i. 123-6; Milman, iii. 147-8.

[t] Choiseul-Daillecourt, 220.

circle, the crusaders were brought into intercourse with men of various nations, and the consequences tended to mutual refinement. And, while the intercourse of nations was important, the communication into which persons of different classes were brought by the crusades was no less so; the high and the low, the lord and the vassal or common soldier, the fighting man and the merchant, learned to understand and to value each other better.[u] The chivalrous spirit, of which France had hitherto been the home, now spread among the warriors of other countries, and the object of the crusades infused into chivalry a new religious character.[x] Nor was chivalry without its effect on religion, although this influence was of a more questionable kind. In the cause of the cross, the canons against clerical warriors were suspended;[y] and the devotion which knights owed to their ladies tended to exalt the devotion of the middle ages to her who was regarded as the highest type of glorified womanhood.[z]

The Christians of the west were brought by the crusades into contact with the civilization of the Arabs, new to them in its character, and on the whole higher than their own. After the first blind fury of their enmity had passed away, they learned to respect in their adversaries the likeness of the virtues which were regarded as adorning the character of a Christian knight; and they were ready to adopt from them whatever of knowledge or of refinement the Orientals might be able to impart.[a] Literature and science benefited by the intercourse which was thus established.[b] Navigation was improved; ships of increased size were built for the transport of the armaments

[u] Guizot, i. 149; Sismondi, vi. 129-31.

[x] Gibbon, v. 428; Heeren, ii. 127, 180-4; Milman, iii. 153.

[y] See Ducange, s. v. *Hostis*, 718. The fighting clergy of the west excited great horror among the Greeks. See Anna Comn. l. x. p. 292, ed. Paris.

[z] Heeren, ii. 184; Milman, iii. 154.

[a] Heeren, ii. 72; Milman, ii. 154.

[b] See Heeren, pt. iii., and Chois-Daillecourt, pt. iv.

destined for the holy wars. Venice, Genoa, Pisa, and Marseilles were enriched by the commerce of the east; the gems, the silks, the spices, and the medicines of Asia became familiarly known in Europe; new branches of industry were introduced; and the inland trading cities gained a new importance and prosperity by aiding to distribute the commodities and luxuries which they received through the agency of the great seaports.[c]

The political effects of the crusades on the kingdoms of western Europe were very important. They tended to increase the power of sovereigns by lessening the number of fiefs. As many of the holders of these were obliged to sell them, in order to find the means of equipment for the holy war, the feudal power became lodged in a less number of hands than before, and kings were able to make themselves masters of much that had until then been independent of their authority.[d] At the same time the class of citizens was rising in importance and dignity. As the wealth of towns was increased by commerce, they purchased or otherwise acquired privileges, and became emancipated from their lay or ecclesiastical lords. It was the interest of kings to favour them, as a counterpoise to the power of the nobles; and thus, more especially in France, the strength of the crown and the liberty of the trading class advanced in alliance with each other.[e] And, although slowly and gradually, the crusades contributed towards the elevation of the peasantry, and the abolition of slavery in western Europe.[f]

To the clergy the transfer of property occasioned by the crusades was very advantageous. Sees or monasteries

[c] See Heeren, pt. ii.; Chois.-Daillecourt, pt. ii.; Robertson's 'Charles V.' i. 23-6; iii. 221, seqq., ed. Oxford, 1825; Wilken, ii. 191-3; Forster's 'Mahometanism Unveiled,' cc. 12-13.

[d] Guizot, i. 158.

[e] Heeren, ii. 203-17, 241; Chois.-Daillecourt, 50-61; Michaud, x. 95-102; Stephen, Lect. v.; Michelet, iii. 67.

[f] Heeren, ii. 217-40; Chois.-Daillecourt, 43-53.

could not permanently suffer by the zeal of crusading bishops or abbots, inasmuch as the incumbents could not dispose of more than a life-interest in their property. And, while they were thus secured against loss, the hierarchy had the opportunity of gaining immense profit by purchasing the lay estates which were thrown into the market at a depreciated value, while in such purchases they were almost without rivalry, as the Jews, the only other class which possessed the command of a large capital, were not buyers or cultivators of land.[g]

But the popes were the chief gainers by the crusades. By means of these enterprises they acquired a control over western Christendom which they might otherwise have sought in vain. They held in their own hands the direction of movements which engaged all Europe; and their power was still further increased, when, in the second crusade, sovereign princes had shown the example of taking the cross. The spirit of the time then emboldened the popes to propose that emperors and kings should embark in a crusade; to refuse would have been disgraceful; and when the promise had been made, the pope was entitled to require the fulfilment of it whenever he might think fit. Nor would any plea of inconvenience serve as an excuse; for what was the interest of a prince or of his dominions to the general concern of Christendom?[h] In the east, the popes extended their sway by the establishment of the Latin church, while they claimed the suzerainty of the territories wrested from the infidels. And while in the west the holy war afforded them a continual pretext for sending legates to interfere in every country,[i] they also gained by means of it a large addition to their wealth. The contributions which had at first

[g] Schmidt, ii. 498; Heeren, ii. 152.
[h] Fleury, Disc. c. 8; Heeren, ii. 140-2.
[i] Ib. 147.

been a free offering towards the cause became a permanent tribute, which was exacted especially from the monks and clergy; and when this took the form of a certain proportion of the revenues, the popes were thus authorized to investigate and to control the amount and the disposal of the whole property which belonged to ecclesiastical or monastic foundations.[k]

Urban felt the addition of strength which he had gained by the crusade. He compelled Conrad to renounce the power of investiture, which the prince had ventured to exercise at Milan; and in a council held at Bari, in 1098, with a view to a reconciliation with the Greeks, he would have excommunicated the king of England for his behaviour to the primate Anselm, had not Anselm himself entreated him to refrain.[l] But to his surest allies, the Normans of the south, the pope was careful to give no offence. Roger, grand count of Sicily, had now firmly established himself in that island, and, while he allowed toleration to the Mahometan inhabitants, had restored the profession of Christianity, founded bishopricks, and built many churches and monasteries.[m] In 1098 the grand count was offended by finding that the pope, without consulting him, had appointed the bishop of Trani legate for Sicily; and, in consequence of his remonstrances at a council at Salerno, a remarkable arrangement was made, which, from the circumstance that it lodged the ecclesiastical power in the same hands with the civil, is known as the "Sicilian Monarchy." By this the pope invests Roger and his successors with the character of perpetual legates of the apostolic see; all papal mandates are to be executed through their agency, and they are to have the right

[k] Heeren, ii. 147, 150; Milman, iii. 145.

[l] Eadmer, 53. See the next chapter.

[m] Malaterra, iv. 7.

of selecting such bishops and abbots as they may think fit to attend the papal councils.[n] In explanation of a grant so unlike the usual policy of Rome, it has been conjectured that the pope, being aware that the Normans would be guilty of many irregularities in the administration of the church, yet being resolved not to quarrel with such valuable auxiliaries, devolved his authority on the prince with a view to rid himself of personal responsibility for the toleration of these irregularities.[o]

In 1099, the antipope and his adherents were finally driven out from Rome, where they had until then kept possession of some churches; and Urban became master of the whole city.[p] But on the 29th of July in that year he died—a fortnight after the taking of Jerusalem, but before he could receive the tidings of the triumph which had crowned his enterprise.[q] The cardinals, assembled in the church of St. Clement, chose as his successor the cardinal of that church,[r] Rainier, a Tuscan

[n] Malaterra, iv. 29; or Urban, Ep. xiii. ap. Hard. vi. 1644. The genuineness of this document is combated by Baronius, who gives a long history of the Sicilian monarchy (1098. 18-143). One of his arguments is, as Gieseler remarks (II. ii. 46), especially amusing for its naïveté. "How," asks the cardinal, "is it to be supposed that Urban would have granted to Roger such powers, when, by granting but a small part of them to Henry, he might have prevented so much misery?" (37.) He holds that the grant is forged or interpolated, and in its present form comes from the antipope Anacletus II. (58; cf. A.D. 1130. 53); and from the words of the document—"omni vitæ tuæ tempore, vel filii tui Simonis, aut alterius qui legitimus tuus hæres extiterit"—he argues that, even if genuine, it bestowed the privilege on Roger and his sons only—not on their posterity, and still less on any others who might get possession of Sicily (32-3). The volume which contained this passage was forbidden in the Spanish dominions, of which Sicily was then a part; and in one edition, printed in the Spanish Netherlands (Antwerp, 1647), the dissertation was omitted. The power continued to be exercised by the Spaniards, and, although Clement XI. abolished it in 1715, the sovereign of Sicily was still governor of the church. Giannone, l. x. c. 8; Mosheim, ii. 306; Schröckh, xxvi. 28-30.

[o] Planck, IV. i. 243

[p] Bernold, 466.

[q] Schröckh, xxvi. 33.

[r] He is supposed, while cardinal, to have built the present church, removing into it the choir of John VIII.'s time from the older church below—that having been ruined in the great conflagration caused by Robert Guiscard's troops. See Quart. Rev. cxv. 230-1.

by birth, who had been a monk at Cluny, and, having been sent to Rome at the age of twenty, on the business of his monastery, had obtained the patronage of Gregory, by whom he was employed in important affairs and promoted to the dignity of cardinal. Rainier on his election assumed the name of Paschal II.[s]

In the following year, Guibert or Clement III., the rival of four successive popes, died at Castelli. That he was a man of great abilities and acquirements, and was possessed of many noble qualities, is admitted by such of his opponents as are not wholly blinded by the enmity of party;[t] and his power of securing a warm attachment to his person is proved by the fact that in the decline of his fortunes, and even to the last, he was not deserted.[u] His grave at Ravenna was said to be distinguished by miracles, until Paschal ordered his remains to be dug up and cast into unconsecrated ground.[x] Three antipopes—Theoderic, Albert, and Maginulf, the last of whom took the name of Sylvester IV.—were set up in succession by Guibert's party; but they failed to gain any considerable strength, and Paschal held undisturbed possession of his see.[y]

Sept. 1100.

Philip of France, after having been excommunicated by Urban at Clermont, had succeeded, through the intercession of Ivo of Chartres, in obtaining absolution, which was pronounced by the pope in a council at Nismes, on condition of his forswearing further intercourse with Bertrada.[z] This pro-

July 1096.

[s] Pandulph. Pisan. ap. Murat. iii. 354.

[t] *E.g.*, Ekkehard, 219; Pandulph. 375: Chron. Petershus. in Patrol. cxliii. 332.

[u] Milman, iii. 160; Giesebr. iii. 504-5, 695. He is said to have expressed regret that he had allowed himself to be set up as an antipope. Ekkehard, A.D. 1100.

[x] Codex Udalrici, 173; Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1099.

[y] Pandulph. 355. As to Maginulf, see Paschal, Ep. 168 (Patrol. clxiii.).

[z] Bernold, 464; Brial, in Rec. des Hist. xvi. Pref. 74. See Hefele, v. 222.

mise, however, was soon violated, and in 1097 the king was again excommunicated by the legate, Hugh of Lyons. The pope, greatly to his legate's annoyance, was prevailed on to grant a second absolution in the following year;[a] but in 1100 the adulterous pair incurred a fresh excommunication at Poitiers.[b] Four years later, on the king's humble request, supported by the representations of Ivo and other bishops, who had met in a council at Beaugency,[c] Paschal authorized his legate, Lambert bishop of Arras, to absolve them on condition that they should never thenceforth see each other except in the presence of unsuspected witnesses.[d] At a synod at Paris in 1105, the king appeared as a barefooted penitent, and both he and Bertrada were absolved on swearing to the prescribed conditions;[e] yet it appears that they afterwards lived together without any further remonstrance on the part of the pope.[f] Philip on his death-bed, in 1108, expressed a feeling that he was unworthy to share the royal sepulchre at St. Denys, and desired that he might be buried at Fleury, in the hope that St. Benedict, the patron of the monastery, would intercede for the pardon of his sins.[g]

[a] Brial, l. c. 76-8.

[b] See Order. Vital. iii. 389; Hug. Flavin. in Patrol. cliv. 384, seqq.

[c] Ivo, Ep. 144 (Patrol. clxii.); Brial, 70, 95 (who shows, from Ivo's letters, that the excommunication was not regarded as releasing Philip's subjects from their allegiance).

[d] Ep. 35, ap. Hard. vi.

[e] Ib. 1875.

[f] Brial, 100. Some have supposed that Paschal at last sanctioned their union. Ib. 105-6; see Schröckh, xxvi. 72; Giesel. II. ii. 47; Sismondi, v. 15.

[g] Order. Vital. iv. 284; Suger Vita Ludov. Grossi, i. c. 12 (Patrol. clxxxvi.). Henry of Huntingdon says that Philip in his last days became a monk (l. vii., Patrol. cxlv. 952), and William of Malmesbury adds that this was at Fleury (Gesta Regum, 404). But the statement is unsupported by the French writers. (See Bouquet, xiv. 811, where there is a letter from Hugh of Cluny, exhorting the king to enter that monastery.) Guibert of Nogent tells us that Philip, for his misdeeds, lost the power of healing the king's evil by his touch, but that his son Lewis recovered it (De Pignoribus Sanctorum, i. 1, Patrol. clvi.). Dachery supposes this to be the earliest notice of the practice (not. in loc.); but Pagi infers from a passage in the Life of Robert I. that the gift was first bestowed on that king (Helgald. Vita Rob., Patrol. cxli. 931; Pagi, xviii. 540). Although Guibert says (l. c.) that he does not know

The marriage of Matilda with the younger Welf had been a matter of policy, not of affection. The countess, finding her political strength increase, treated her young husband with coldness;[h] and Welf was disgusted by discovering that the rich inheritance, which had been a chief inducement to the connexion, had already been made over in remainder to the church. A separation took place. Welf, as the only possible means of annulling the donation, invoked the emperor's aid, and his father, the duke of Bavaria, hitherto Henry's most formidable opponent in Germany, now joined him with all his influence.[i] On returning to his native country, after a sojourn of nearly seven years in Italy, Henry met with a general welcome. He devoted himself to the government of Germany, and for some years the stormy agitation of his life was exchanged for tranquil prosperity. His conciliatory policy won over many of his old opponents, whose enmity died away as intercourse with him revealed to them his real character;[k] and at a great

A.D. 1055.

A.D. 1096.

of any such gift in the kings of England, William of Malmesbury (222) ascribes it to Edward the Confessor. A contemporary biographer of Edward mentions (as Malmesbury also does) the case of a scrofulous young woman who was told in a dream that she might be cured if the king would wash her, and was cured accordingly; but nothing is said by this writer as to a customary power of healing by touch. (See Lives of Edward, ed. Luard, 428, in Chron. and Mem. of G. B., Lond. 1858. Comp. Bouquet, xiv. 222; Aelred in Patrol. cxlv. 761.). English writers have supposed that the French kings derived their power of healing from their connection with the royal blood of England. See Fuller, i. 224-8; and Collier, i. 532-5, who maintains that England had a long priority, because Philip "was near 200 years after the death of our Edward the Confessor" [whereas the reigns of the two had really some years in common]. On the other hand, the authors of the 'Art de Vérifier les Dates,' v. 520, are clearly wrong in inferring from Guibert of Nogent's words that the kings of England did not claim the gift of healing until they assumed the title and arms of France. A note in Bouquet, xx. 20, refers for information to Peyrat's Antiquities of the French King's Chapel, l. ii. c. 60. See also Lecky's Hist. of Christian Morals, ii. 387, where a treatise by J. Brown, 'Charisma Basilicon,' 1684, is quoted.

[h] Cosmas of Prague gives a strange account of their wedded life, ii. 32 (Pertz, ix.). See Tosti's Contessa Matilde, 297, against Baronius.

[i] Bernold, 461-3; Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 67.

[k] Luden, ix. 289.

diet at Cologne, in 1098, he obtained an acknowledgment of his second son, Henry, as his successor, in the room of the rebel Conrad, while, with a jealousy suggested by sad experience, he exacted from the prince an oath that he would not during his father's lifetime attempt to gain political power.[1] The emperor's ecclesiastical prerogative was acknowledged; although his excommunication was unrepealed, even bishops of the papal party communicated with him and were fain to take investiture at his hands.[m] The Jews, who had suffered from the fury of the crusading multitudes, were taken under his special protection, and from that time were regarded as immediately dependent on the crown.[n]

The death of the antipope Clement, and the substitution of Paschal for Urban, appeared to open a prospect of reconciliation with Rome; and circumstances were rendered still more favourable by the removal of Conrad, who died in 1101, neglected by those who had made him their tool, but who no longer needed him.[o] Henry announced an intention of crossing the Alps, and submitting his differences with Rome to the judgment of a council. But—whether from unwillingness to revisit a country which had been so disastrous to him, from a fear to leave Germany exposed, and in compliance with the dissuasions of his bishops, or from an apprehension that the pope, elated by the success of the crusade, would ask exorbitant terms of reconciliation[p]—he failed to make his appearance; and Paschal, at a synod in March 1102,

[1] Vita Henrici, c. 7 (Pertz, xii.). I quote this henceforth as the work of Otbert, bishop of Liége, to whom Wattenbach, the editor in Pertz's collection (269), agrees with Goldast that it is probably to be assigned.

[m] Bernold, Ann. 1100; Luden, ix. 293.

[n] Ekkehard, Ann. 1098; Milman, iii. 163.

[o] Murat. Ann. VI. ii. 91; Stenzel, i. 568; Luden, ix. 288. Ekkehard (A.D. 1101) says that some suspected poison; Landulf the younger, that Conrad was poisoned by Matilda's physician. Hist. Mediol. 1 (Patrol. clxxiii.).

[p] See Schmidt, ii. 267; Stenzel, i 571.

renewed his excommunication, adding an anathema against all heresies, and "especially that which disturbs the present state of the church" by despising ecclesiastical censures.[q] Yet the emperor's clergy still adhered to him; among them, the pious Otho of Bamberg, afterwards famous as the apostle of Pomerania, who acted as his secretary and assisted him in his devotions.[r]

Henry spent the Christmas of 1102 at Mentz, where he declared a resolution of abdicating in favour of his son, and setting out for the holy war, as soon as he should be reconciled with the pope.[s] At the same time he proclaimed peace to the empire for four years,—that no one should during that time injure his neighbour, whether in person or in property; and he compelled the princes to swear to it.[t] The decree was obeyed, and Germany by degrees recovered from the wounds inflicted by its long distractions. The peaceable classes—the merchant and trader, the husbandman and the artisan—carried on their occupations unmolested; the highways were safe for travellers, and the traffic of the rivers was unimpeded by the little tyrants whose castles frowned along the banks.[u] But the discords of Germany were only laid to sleep for a time. Intrigue was busy among the clergy, with whom the principles of Gregory had made way in proportion as their utility for the interests of the class became more apparent. Many bishops were won over from Henry's party, and were ready to countenance a new movement against him.[x] And a renewal of civil war was sure to be welcome to the nobles and

[q] Hard. vi. 1863; Ekkehard, 223-4.

[r] Herbord. Vita Ottonis, 3-4, ap. Pertz, xii. Cf. Chron. St. Pantal. ap. Eccard, i. 917. For Otho, see hereafter, c. xi. sect. 8.

[s] There is a letter to Hugh of Cluny, expressing this intention, and requesting the abbot's mediation. Patrol. clix. 932.

[t] Pertz, Leges, ii. 60; Sigebert, Ann. 1103; Ekkehard, Ann. 1103; Stenzel, i. 576. A council at Mentz in 1085 had enacted the *treuga Dei* for Germany. Hefele, v. 164.

[u] Otbert, 8.

[x] Schmidt, ii. 354.

their armed retainers, who fretted against the forced inaction which was so opposite to the habits of their former lives, while many of them, being no longer at liberty to resort to violence and plunder, found themselves reduced from splendour to poverty.[y]

The younger Henry was now tampered with. The young nobles, with whom the emperor had studiously encouraged him to associate, were prompted to insinuate to him that he was improperly kept under—that if he should wait until his father's death, the empire would probably then be seized by another; and that the oath exacted of him by his father was not binding.[z] These suggestions were too successful. In December 1104, as the emperor was on an expedition against a refractory Saxon count, his son deserted him at Fritzlar, and to all his overtures and entreaties made no other answer than that he could hold no intercourse with an excommunicate person, and that his oath to such a person was null and void.[a] There is no evidence to show that the pope had been concerned in suggesting this defection; but the prince immediately asked his counsel, and was absolved from his share in the emperor's excommunication by the legate, Gebhard of Zähringen, bishop of Constance.[b] On declaring himself against his father, the young Henry at once found himself at the head of a powerful party, among the most conspicuous members of which was Ruthard, archbishop of Mentz, who had been charged with misdemeanours as to the property of the Jews slain by the crusaders, and had found it expedient to abscond when the emperor proposed an inquiry into

[y] Otbert, 8.

[z] Id. 9. The prince was born in 1081. Floto, i. 319.

[a] Otbert, 9; Ekkehard, 227.

[b] Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1105; Stenzel, i. 586. See the Chron. S. Hub. c. 97 (Patrol. cliv.). Gebhard had got his see by the expulsion of an imperialist bishop, and had afterwards been dispossessed by Henry's power. (Chron. Petershus. in Patrol. cxliii. 337-8, 348.)

his conduct.[c] For a year Germany was disquieted by the muster, the movements, and the contests of hostile armies. The prince, however, professed that he had no wish to reign—that his only motive in rebelling was to bring about his father's conversion; and, with consistent hypocrisy, he refused to assume the ensigns of royalty.[d]

On the 21st of December 1105, an interview between the father and the son took place at Coblentz. The emperor's fondness burst forth without restraint; he threw himself at the feet of his son, and confessed himself guilty of many offences against God, but adjured the prince not to stain his own name by taking it on himself to punish his father's misdeeds.[e] The behaviour of the young Henry was marked throughout by the deepest perfidy. He professed to return his father's love, and proposed that they should dismiss their followers with the exception of a few knights on each side, and should spend the Christmas season together at Mentz. To this the emperor consented, and in his interviews with his son, as they proceeded up the bank of the Rhine, he poured forth all the warmth of his affection for him, while the prince professed to return his feelings, and repeatedly gave him the most solemn assurances of safety. But at Bingen Henry found himself made prisoner, and he was shut up in the castle of Böckelheim on the Nahe, under the custody of his enemy Gebhard of Urach, bishop of Spires, who had lately been promoted to that see by the rebel king.[f] The emperor was rudely treated and ill fed; his beard was unshorn; he was denied the use of a bath; at Christmas the holy eucharist was refused to him, nor was he allowed the ministrations of a confessor; and he was

[c] Ekkehard, Ann. 1098; Addit. ad. Lambert. ap. Pistor. i. 426.

[d] Ekkeh. A.D. 1105.

[e] Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. ap. Sigebert. 370; ad Hug. Cluniac., Patrol. clix. 935; Floto, ii. 400.

[f] Ib. 403.

assailed with threats of personal violence, of death or lifelong captivity, until he was persuaded to surrender the ensigns of his power—the cross and the lance, the crown, the sceptre, and the globe—into the hands of the rebel's partisans.[g] He entreated that an opportunity of defending his conduct before the princes of Germany might be granted him; but, although a great diet was about to meet at Mentz, he was not allowed to appear before it—under the pretext that his excommunication made him unfit, but in reality because it was feared that his appearance might move the members to compassion, while the citizens of Mentz, like the inhabitants of most other German cities, were known to be still firmly attached to him.[h] On the 31st of December he was removed to Ingelheim, where he was brought before an assembly composed exclusively of his enemies. Worn out by threats and ill usage, he professed himself desirous to resign his power, and to withdraw into the quiet which his age rendered suitable for him. The papal legate and the fallen emperor's own son alone remained unmoved by his humiliation. In answer to his passionate entreaties for absolution, the legate told him that he must acknowledge himself guilty of having unjustly persecuted Gregory. Henry earnestly desired that a day might be allowed him to justify his conduct before the princes of the empire, but it was answered that he must at once submit, under pain of imprisonment for life. He asked whether by unreserved submission he might hope to obtain absolution; but the legate replied that absolution could only be granted by the pope himself. The emperor, whose spirit was entirely broken, so that he was ready to catch at any hope, however vague, and to comply with any terms, promised to satisfy the church

Jan. 1106.

[g] Henr. Ep. ad Philipp. l. c.; ad Hug. l. c. 936; Otbert, 10; Ekkehard, 231.

[h] Id. 231; Luden, ix. 325.

in all points;[j] it is even said that he solicited, for the sake of a maintenance, to be admitted as a canon of Spires, a cathedral founded by his grandfather and finished by himself, and that the bishop harshly refused his request.[k] On the festival of the Epiphany, the younger Henry was crowned at Mentz by archbishop Ruthard, who at the ceremony warned him that, if he should fail in his duties as a sovereign, his father's fate would overtake him.[l] The violence of his ecclesiastical abettors was shown by disinterring the bones of deceased imperialist bishops.[m]

But serious outbreaks in favour of the dethroned emperor took place in Alsatia and elsewhere;[n] and after a time, alarmed by rumours that his death or perpetual captivity was intended, he contrived to make his escape by the river to Cologne.[o] At Aix-la-Chapelle he was met by Otbert, bishop of Liége, to whose affectionate pen we are chiefly indebted for the knowledge of his latest fortunes,[p] and under the bishop's escort he proceeded to Liége.[q] The clergy of that city had steadily adhered to him, and when Paschal desired count Robert of Flanders to punish them for their fidelity, one of their number, the annalist Sigebert of Gembloux, sent forth a powerful letter in defence of their conduct, and in reproof of the papal assumptions.[r] From his place of refuge Henry addressed letters to the kings of France, England, and

[j] Ekkehard, A.D. 1106; Ep. ad Philipp. l. c. 371; ad Hug. l. c. 936; Hard. vi. 1880; Otbert, 10.

[k] Helmold. i. 33 (ap. Leibnit. ii.). This story is now generally rejected.

[l] Annal. Hildesh. in Patrol. cxli. 594.

[m] Ekkehard, 233.

[n] Otbert, 11; Luden, ix. 331.

[o] Ep. ad Hug. l. c. 936.

[p] The opposite party give a very unfavourable account of Otbert—as might in any case be expected. See Hist. Litt. x. 158-61; Chron. S. Hub. 68, seqq.; Rupert. Tuit. Chron. (Patrol. clxx. 698).

[q] Chron. S. Hub. Andag. 97 (Patrol cliv.).

[r] Epistola Leodiensium, ap. Hard. vi. 1769, who dates it about 1107. But the date is more probably 1102 or 1103 according to Bethmann, in Pertz, vi. 272. The authorship of this letter is avowed by Sigebert, De Scriptoribus Eccles. 171 (Patrol. clx.). Jaffé dates Paschal's letter to Robert, Jan. 21, 1103.

Denmark, in which he denounced the new claims of Rome as an aggression on the common rights of all princes, and pathetically related the story of his sufferings from the enmity of the papal party and from the treachery of his own son whom they had misled.[s] He again offered to abide an examination of his conduct by the princes of Germany,[t] and he requested his godfather, the venerable abbot of Cluny, to mediate with the pope.[u] Other cities joined with Liége in declaring for him; he was urged to retract his forced resignation, and he once more found himself in a condition to contest the possession of the kingdom.[x] The younger Henry was repulsed from Cologne, and the hostile armies were advancing towards each other, when the emperor's faithful chamberlain appeared in the king's camp, and delivered to him his father's ring and sword. Henry IV. had died at Liége, on the anniversary of his defeat at Melrichstadt, the 7th of August 1106, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign—desiring on his death-bed that these relics might be carried to his successor, with a request (which proved fruitless) that his partisans might be forgiven for their adherence to him.[y]

In surveying the long and troubled reign of this prince, it seems impossible to acquit the hierarchy of grievous wrongs towards him. His early impressions of the clergy were not likely to be favourable—derived as they must have been from the remembrance of his abduction by Hanno, and from the sight of that prelate's sternness, ambition, pride, and nepotism, of Adalbert's vanity and worldliness, and of the gross simony, misrule, rapacity, and corruption which disgraced the German church.

[s] Ep. ad. Philipp. Franciæ Regem, ap. Sigebert, 369-71.

[t] Ekkehard, 234.

[u] Patrol. clix. 933-7; Stenzel, i. 597.

[x] Otbert, pp. 222-3.

[y] Annal. Blandin. ap. Pertz, v. 27; Stenzel, i. 605; Floto, ii. 419; Giesebr. iii. 757.

Under his self-appointed ecclesiastical guardians, his education was neglected, and he was encouraged in licence and riot. The warnings of Gregory, however sound in their substance, were not conveyed in a manner which could be expected to influence him for good, since they were accompanied by new claims against the royal and imperial power. Gregory took advantage of his weakness; he surrounded him with a net of intrigues; he used against him the disaffection of his subjects, which had been in great part provoked by the encroachments of some ecclesiastics and was swollen by the industrious enmity of others; he humbled him to the dust and trampled on him. The claims of the papacy, whether just or unjust, were novel; it was the pope that invaded the emperor's traditional power, while Henry asserted only the prerogatives which his predecessors had exercised without question. "It was his fate," says William of Malmesbury, "that whosoever took up arms against him regarded himself as a champion of religion." [z] By the hierarchy his troubles were fomented, and atrocious calumnies were devised against him; it was under pretence of religion that his sons, one after the other, rebelled, and that that son on whom he had lavished his tenderness, to whom he was even willing to transfer all his power, forced from him a premature resignation by the most hateful treachery and violence. Yet Henry, among all the faults which are imputed to him, is not taxed by his very enemies with any profanity or irreligion; [a] his contests were not even with the papacy itself, but with its occupants, and with the new pretensions by which they assailed his crown.

The conduct of Henry as a ruler must be viewed with

[z] Gesta Regum, p. 467.

[a] At a later time, however, we find Gerhoch of Reichersperg, a pious but weak and bitterly prejudiced man, charging him with abominations of this kind. Syntagma, 11 (Patrol. cxciv.).

allowance for the unfortunate training and circumstances of his youth. The faults of other men were visited on him; the demands of his subjects were frequently unreasonable, and were urged in an offensive style; and if his breach of engagements was often and too justly charged against him, it may be palliated by the consideration that the opposition to him was animated by a power which claimed authority to release from all oaths and obligations. Adversity drew forth the display of talents and of virtues which had not before been suspected; from the time of his humiliation at Canossa, he appeared to have awakened to a new understanding of his difficulties and of his duties, and exhibited a vigour, a firmness of purpose, and a fertility of resource, of which his earlier life had given little indication. His clemency and placability were so remarkable as even to extort the acknowledgments of hostile writers.[b] The troubles of his last days were excited, not by misgovernment, but by his having governed too well.

To the needy and to the oppressed classes Henry was endeared by his warm sympathy for them, by his support of them against the tyranny of the nobles, by the charity not only of bountiful almsgiving, but of personal kindness in administering to their relief.[c] The poor, the widows, the orphans crowded around his bier, pouring forth their tears and prayers, kissing the hands which had distributed his gifts,[d] and commemorating his kind and gentle deeds.[e] The loyal Otbert buried his master with the rites of the church, but was soon after compelled, as a condition of

[b] *E.g.*, Annal. S. Disib. A.D. 1106.

[c] Ib.; Otbert, 1; Floto, b. iii. c. 24; IV. 35.

[d] "Largas manus." Otbert, 13, p. 203.

[e] Some placed seed-corn on the bier, in the hope that it would thus become able to impart productiveness to other seed. (Sigeb. ap. Pertz, vi. 371-2.) A like mark of reverence is recorded by Saxo Grammaticus as paid to Waldemar I., king of Denmark, while living. l. xiv. p. 303.

receiving absolution, to disinter the body, which was then carried to Spires, where Henry himself had desired to be buried in the cathedral which owed its completion to his bounty. But this was not to be permitted; the cathedral, in consequence of having been polluted by the corpse, was interdicted by bishop Gebhard; and for five years the remains of the excommunicated emperor were kept in the unconsecrated chapel of St. Afra, where, like the relics of a saint, they were visited by multitudes who affectionately cherished his memory.[f]

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE DEATH OF ST. ANSELM.

A.D. 1066-1108.

The successful expedition of William of Normandy produced important changes in the English church. At his coronation, which was performed by Aldred, archbishop of York, William, as heir of Edward the confessor, swore to administer equal justice to all his subjects;[a] but the necessity of providing for his followers soon led him to disregard this pledge, while a pretext was afforded by the obstinate resistance which he met with in completing the subjugation of the country, and by the frequent insurrections of the Saxons. Much property of churches and monasteries was confiscated, together with the treasures which the wealthier English had deposited in the monas-

[f] Godefr. Viterb., Patrol. cxcviii. 985; Luden, ix. 347; Giesebr. iii. 1182.

[a] Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1066; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 229; Sym. Dunelm. 195. See Phillips, i. 87.

teries for security.[b] During the reign of Edward,[c] the Norman influence had for a time prevailed in England; many Normans had been advanced to high ecclesiastical stations, and the system of alien priories—*i.e.* of annexing priories and estates in England to foreign religious houses—had been largely practised.[d] But under the ascendency of Earl Godwin, Robert of Jumièges, the Norman archbishop of Canterbury, had been obliged to leave the kingdom, and the primacy had been conferred on Stigand, bishop of Winchester, who, after having unsuccessfully applied for the pall to Leo IX., received it from the antipope John of Velletri, and held his see in defiance of Alexander II.[e] Stigand, according to some writers,[f] refused to officiate at the coronation of the Conqueror, while others[g] state that William refused his services; in any case, he was obnoxious as a Saxon. William for a time affected to treat him with great honour;[h] but at a council held at Winchester under two papal legates in 1070, he was charged with having intruded into the seat of

[b] Hist. Abing. i. 486; Ang. Sax. Chron. A.D. 1071; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 5; Lingard, i. 469-70; Lappenberg, ii. 96. The privilege of asylum was supposed to be secured for property so deposited. See, *e.g.*, the canons of a council of Ossory, about 1320, in Wilkins, ii. 503. William is said to have also seized the charters and statutes of monasteries. (M. Paris, Hist. Angl. i. 23.)

[c] See the contemporary Life, in Lives of Edward, edited by the Rev. H. R. Luard (Chron. and Mem.), pp. 399, 415.

[d] Archd. Churton (272) and Dean Hook (i. 496) speak of it as then *introduced*. But earlier instances are mentioned in the Monasticon, *e.g.*, the gift of Lewisham to St. Peter's of Ghent by Alfred's mother. vi. 987.

[e] Ang.-Sax. Chron. A.D. 1058; W. Malmesb. Gesta Pontif. (Patrol. clxxix. 1458); Collier, i. 521; Lingard, i. 341-2.

[f] Will. Neubrig. i. 1, p. 13; Bromton (who, however, mentions both stories), ap. Twysden, 962.

[g] Eadmer, 29; W. Malmesb. ii. 421; Sym. Dunelm. 195; Wendover, ii. 1. Lappenberg does not decide between the statements (ii. 67). Aldred had also crowned Harold, according to Florence of Worcester (i. 224) and Symeon of Durham (193), although William of Poictiers (Patrol. cxlix. 1245) and Orderic (iii. 17), as well as the Bayeux Tapestry, represent Stigand as having officiated. Dean Hook (i. 514) follows Orderic and William, but Lingard (i. 360) and Lappenberg (i. 532) seem to be right in preferring the statement of the English chroniclers to that of the foreigners.

[h] Will. Malmesb. G. P. in Patrol. clxxix. 1459.

a living bishop; with having irregularly held at once the sees of Winchester and Canterbury; with the want of a properly-conferred pall, and with having used for a time that of his ejected predecessor.[1] These pretexts served for the deprivation of the archbishop, which was followed by that of other native prelates, so that, with a single exception, the English sees were soon in the hands of Normans, who either had been appointed under Edward or were now promoted by the Conqueror.[k] The system of preferring foreigners was gradually extended to the abbacies and lower dignities, and for a long series of years it was hopeless for any Englishman, whatever his merit might be, to aspire to any considerable station in the church of his own land.[1] One Norman only, Guitmund,

[1] Flor. Wig. ii. 5; Rog. Hoveden, 265, b; Inett, ii. 7. Dean Hook shows reason for thinking that Stigand himself was not present (i. 522). At this council the crown was placed on William's head by the legates, who are therefore said by Lanfranc's biographer to have "confirmed him as king of England" (c. 6; cf. Order. Vital. iv. 8). But it seems to have been nothing more than the observance of a custom usual among northern nations, that at certain festival seasons the king wore his crown, which was placed on his head by some eminent prelate. (See Cosm. Pragens. i. 28, and the note in Pertz, viii.; Inett, ii. 11.) At Christmas 1109, during a vacancy in the see of Canterbury, there was a quarrel between the archbishop of York and the bishop of London (as provincial dean of Canterbury) for the right of "crowning" Henry I. They wished to follow this up by a struggle for precedence at the king's table, but he ordered them both to be turned out of the hall. (Eadmer, Hist. Nov. p. 83.) See, too, a story as to archbishop Ralph at the second marriage of Henry, in l. vi. init.

[k] Inett. ii. 14-15; Lappenb. ii. 100. The only Englishman who retained his bishoprick was the pious and simple-minded Wulstan, of Worcester. W. Malmesb. ii. 450. See Acta SS., Jan. 19; Ælred in Patrol. cxciv. 779-81.

[1] Ingulph. ap. Fell, 70; Eadmer, 29, 87; Lingard, i. 457. In 1114 the monks of Canterbury cried out against the appointment of any more foreigners, on the ground that there were persons "patriæ linguæ" who equalled Lanfranc in learning and Anselm in piety, and like them were monks; but the candidate whom they carried, Ralph bishop of Rochester, although he had long lived in England, was not only "si genus explores, spectabili Normanorum prosapia oriundus," but himself a native of Normandy; and the language which was mentioned as one of his qualifications was not English, but "genialis soli, id est Cenomannici, accuratus et quasi depexus sermo." Hence it would seem as if the monks did not venture to object to Normans as "alienæ gentis," but only to persons who, like Lanfranc, Anselm, and Faricius, who was proposed to them as the successor of Anselm, were Italians, or otherwise not subjects of the king of England. (W. Malmesb. G. P. 1506.) The first archbishop of English birth

the opponent of Berengar, is recorded as having ventured to refuse an English bishoprick, and to protest against a system so adverse to the interests of the church and of the people.[m]

The later Anglo-Saxon clergy are very unfavourably represented to us by writers after the conquest. It is said that they were scarcely able to stammer out the forms of Divine service—that any one who knew "grammar" was regarded by his brethren as a prodigy;[n] and religion as well as learning had fallen into decay. But, although the increase of intercourse with other countries eventually led to an improvement in the English church, it seems questionable whether the immediate effect of the change introduced by the conquest was beneficial. The new prelates were in general chosen for other than ecclesiastical merits; they could not edify their flocks, whose language they would have scorned to understand;[o] the Anglo-Saxon literature, the richest by far that any Teutonic nation as yet possessed, fell into oblivion and contempt; the traditions of older English piety were lost; and there was no love or mutual confidence to win for the new hierarchy the influence which the native pastors had been able to exert for the enforcement of religion on their people.[p]

But while the dignities of the church were commonly bestowed on illiterate warriors or on court-chaplains, the primacy was to be otherwise disposed of. Lanfranc had been sentenced by William to banishment from Normandy

after the conquest, Thomas Becket (A.D. 1162), was not, as has often been supposed, a Saxon, but a Norman by descent.

[m] Ord. Vit. l. iv. 13. See above, vol. iv. p. 365.

[n] W. Malmesb. ii. 417-18. Cf. Ord. Vit iv. 10.

[o] William himself attempted to learn it; "ast a perceptione hujusmodi durior ætas illum compescebat, et tumultus multimodarum occupationum ad alia necessario attrahebat." Ord. Vit. iv. 11.

[p] See Lappenb. ii. 97-102. Sir F. Palgrave, however, shows reason for believing that the change effected by William was much less than is commonly supposed. Norm. and Engl. iii. c. 15.

for opposing his marriage with Matilda, as being within the forbidden degrees; but, as he was on his way to leave the country, an accidental meeting with the duke led to a friendly understanding, so that Lanfranc was employed to obtain the pope's sanction for the union, and a removal of the interdict under which William's territories had been laid.[q] His success in this commission recommended him to the duke's favour; he was transferred from Bec to the headship of St. Stephen's at Caen, the noble abbey which William was required to found in penance for the irregularity of his marriage, and, after having already refused the archbishoprick of Rouen, he was now urged to accept that of Canterbury.[r] It was not without much reluctance that he resolved to undertake so onerous a dignity among a people of barbarous and unknown language; and the difficulties which he experienced and foresaw in the execution of his office speedily induced him to solicit permission from Alexander II. to return to his monastery;[s] but the pope refused to consent, and Lanfranc thereupon requested that the pall might be sent to him. The answer came from the archdeacon Hildebrand—that, if the pall could be granted to any one without his personal appearance at Rome, it would be granted to Lanfranc; but that the journey was indispensable.[t] On his arrival at Rome, the archbishop was treated with extraordinary honour. The pope, who had formerly been his pupil at Bec, rose up to receive him, explaining that he did so out of regard not for his office but for his learning; and it was not until after this that he desired Lanfranc in his turn to perform the reverence which was due to St. Peter.[u] He

A.D. 1071.

[q] Vita Lanfr. 7-8.

[r] Ib. 4, 6; Guil. Gemet. vii. 26.

[s] Ep. 1; Orderic, l. iv. t. ii. 212.

[t] Inter Epp. Lanfr. 6. This had not been the case in earlier times (see the 'Liber Diurnus,' c. iv. in Patrol. cv.); and the popes were soon obliged to give way on the point. Giesel. II. ii. 235.

[u] Vita Lanf. 11; Eadmer, 30.

bestowed on him two palls, as a mark of signal consideration—a compliment of which it is said that there has never been another instance[x]—and invested him with the authority of legate. A question as to precedence was raised by Thomas, archbishop of York, who had accompanied Lanfranc to Rome and contended that, by the terms of Gregory's instructions to Augustine, the primacy of England ought to alternate between Canterbury and the northern see, for which he also claimed jurisdiction over Worcester, Lichfield, and Lincoln.[y] The pope declined to give judgment, and remitted the questions to England, where, after discussions in the king's presence at Winchester and at Windsor, they were decided in favour of Lanfranc on the ground of ancient custom. A.D. 1072. The archbishop of York was required to promise submission to Canterbury, and, with his suffragans, to attend councils at such places as the archbishop of Canterbury should appoint.[z]

Lanfranc exerted himself to reform the disorders of the English church (which it is very possible that, as a man trained in entirely different circumstances, he may have somewhat overrated),[a] and in his labours for this purpose he was effectually supported by the king, who bestowed on him his full confidence, and usually entrusted him

[x] Will. Malmesb., G. Pontif., Patrol. clxxix. 1460; Rock's 'Church of our Fathers,' ii. 151.

[y] W. Malmesb. G. P. 1460-1. See vol. ii. p. 392; and for the York version of the affair, Stubbs, in Twysden, 1685-1706; Raine, i. 148. Some documents produced by Lanfranc in this affair were of questionable genuineness (Haddan-Stubbs, iii. 68). It is said that the appointment of Thomas was objected to on the ground that he was the son of a priest, but that Lanfranc interceded for him, and persuaded the pope to overlook this irregularity. Rad. de Diceto, ib. 483.

[z] Lanfr. Ep. 3; Vita, 10-11; Wilkins, i. 324-5.

[a] Matthew Paris says of Lanfranc, that, although a saintly man, he was inflated by his learning and dignity, and charged the English prelates, "licet sanctos et Deo acceptos," with ignorance. (Hist. Angl. i. 14-15.) But elsewhere (p. 38) he says of him "nunquam humilitatis metas propter litteraturæ eminentiam manifeste transgressus est, nisi in depositione beati Wulstani episcopi Wigorniensis."

with the regency during his own absence on the continent. The primate used his influence to obtain the promotion of deserving men to bishopricks.[b] Many churches which had fallen into ruin were rebuilt—among them the primate's own cathedral.[c] Sees which had been established in villages or small towns were removed to places of greater importance; thus the bishoprick of Selsey was transferred to Chichester, that of Sherborne to Sarum, Elmham to Thetford, Dorchester (in Oxfordshire) to Lincoln, Lichfield to Chester[d]—a change agreeable to the ancient system of the church, but perhaps suggested by the policy of William, who, by thus placing the bishops in fortified cities, secured their assistance in preserving the subjection of the people.[e] Lanfranc—"the venerable father and comfort of monks," as he is styled by the Anglo-Saxon chronicler[f]—was zealous for celibacy and monasticism. The effects of Dunstan's labours had passed away, and the English clergy had again become accustomed to marry freely; but the Italian primate renewed the endeavour to substitute monks for secular canons in cathedrals, and serious struggles arose in consequence.[g] Nor was the enforcement of celibacy on the clergy complete; for, although a council at Winchester in 1076 enacted that no canon should have a wife, and that for the future no married man should be ordained priest or deacon, the rural clergy were, in contradiction to the regulations which Gregory VII. was labouring to enforce elsewhere, allowed by the council to retain their wives.[h]

William was greatly indebted to Rome. His expedi-

[b] Lappenb. ii. 107-8.

[c] See Willis, Architect. Hist. of Canterbury Cathedral, 14.

[d] W. Malmesb. G. Regum, 479; Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1133 (Patrol. clx.).

[e] Lappenberg, ii. 126, who, in proof of the opinion, remarks that Old Sarum, one of the new sees, was not a populous town, but merely a fortress.

[f] A.D. 1089.

[g] W. Malmesb. G. P. 1478; Eadmer, 10, 32. See Hefele, v. 48. For a list of the places where this change was made, see Wharton, Ang. Sac. ii. 352.

[h] Can. 1 (Wilkins, i. 367).

tion had been sanctioned by a consecrated banner, the gift of Alexander II.,[i] and he had found the papal support valuable in carrying out his plans as to the English church. But he was determined to make use of Rome —not to acknowledge her as a mistress. He held firmly in his own grasp the government of the church. By refraining from the sale of preferment—however he may have been guilty of simony in that wider definition which includes the bestowal of benefices for service or by favour —he earned the commendation of Gregory;[k] but he promoted bishops and abbots by his own will, invested them by the feudal forms, and took it upon himself to exempt the abbey which was founded in memory of his victory near Hastings from all episcopal and monastic jurisdiction.[l] No pope was to be acknowledged in England, except by the king's permission; nor, although William allowed legates to hold synods in furtherance of his own views, was anything to be treated or enacted at these meetings without his previous sanction. The bishops were forbidden to obey citations to Rome; they were forbidden to receive letters from the pope without showing them to the king; nor were any of his nobles or servants to be excommunicated without his licence.[m] The bishop was no longer to sit in the same court with the sheriff, but his jurisdiction was confined to spiritual matters.[n] The

[i] W. Malmesb. 410.

[k] Ep. ix. 5. I cannot agree with Dr. Lappenberg (ii. 139) that the praise was either ironical or meant to point out what William *ought* to do.

[l] Chron. de Bello, 25-8 (Lond. 1846). Gervase of Canterbury says that when Lanfranc, on the death of Scolland, abbot of St. Augustine's, asked leave to nominate an abbot, as his predecessors had done, the Conqueror answered that he was resolved to "keep all the staves in his own hands" (Twysden, 1327). But Thorn represents these words as spoken by William Rufus on being asked by the monks to let them choose their own abbot in the room of Scolland's successor, Guy (ib. 1794); and, in any case, they would seem to belong to Rufus, as Scolland died only four days (or according to Goscelin, only one day) before the death of the Conqueror in Normandy. See Thorn, 1792; Goscelin. Transl. S. Aug. ii. 41 (Patrol. clv.).

[m] Eadmer, 29-30.

[n] Wilkins, i. 368. This severance of jurisdiction, however, became the

tenure of frank-almoign (or free alms), under which the bishops had formerly held their lands, was exchanged for the feudal tenure by barony; and the estates of the clergy became subject to the same obligations as other lands [o]

In his ecclesiastical policy William was willingly seconded by the primate. Lanfranc was indeed no devoted adherent of Gregory, with whom he was probably dissatisfied on account of the indulgence which the pope had shown to his antagonist Berengar. In a letter to a partisan of the antipope, he professes neutrality as to the great contest of the time, and even shows an inclination towards the imperial side. After censuring the unseemly language which his correspondent had applied to Gregory, he adds—"Yet I believe that the emperor has not undertaken so great an enterprise without much reason, nor has he been able to achieve so great a victory without much aid from God." And, while he advises Guibert's agent not to come to England, it is on the ground that the king's leave ought first to be obtained—that England has not rejected Gregory, or given a public adhesion to either pope, and that there is room for hearing both parties before coming to a decision.[p] If such was the archbishop's feeling as to the controversy between the pope and the emperor, he could hardly fail to be wholly with his own sovereign in any questions between England and Rome.

Gregory, in his letters to William and to Lanfranc, spoke of the king with profuse expressions of the deepest respect, as incomparably superior to all other princes of the age; and, when obliged to censure any of his acts, he was careful to season the censure with compliments to the

ground for great claims on the part of the clergy. See Inett, ii. 60-2.

[o] Rog. Wendover, ii. 7; Inett, ii. 49; Blackstone, i. 141.

[p] Ep. 59 (probably addressed to Cardinal Hugh the White)

king's character, with remembrances of their old mutual regard, and of the services which he had rendered to William in former days.[q] But these blandishments were thrown away on a sovereign whose policy was as decided, and whose will was as strong, as those of Gregory himself. When, in 1079, the pope required William to see to the payment of Peter-pence from England, and to swear fealty to the apostolic see, the reply was cool and peremptory—"Your legate has admonished me in your name to do fealty to you and your successors, and to take better order as to the money which my predecessors have been accustomed to send to the Roman church; the one I have admitted; the other I have not admitted. I refused to do fealty, nor will I do it, because neither have I promised it, nor do I find that my predecessors have performed it to yours."[r] The payment was to be made, not as a tribute, but as alms.[s] On receiving this answer, the pope declared that money without obedience was worthless, and at the same time he complained of the king's conduct in other respects; that, by a presumption which no one even among heathen princes had ventured on, he prevented the prelates of his kingdom from visiting the apostle's city; that he had promoted to the see of Rouen the son of a priest—an appointment to which Gregory was resolved never to consent. His legate was charged to threaten William with the wrath of St. Peter unless he should repent, and to cite certain representatives of the English and Norman bishops to a synod at Rome.[t] No heed was paid to this citation; but the pope submitted to the slight; and it is certain that, but for the voluntary retirement of William's nominee, Guitmund, the ally of Lanfranc in the eucharistic controversy, the

[q] *E.g.*, Epp. i. 31, 70; vi. 30; vii. 23, 25.

[r] Inter Epp. Lanfr. 7.

[s] Inett, ii. 42.

[t] Ep. vii. 1 (Sept. 23, 1079, Jaffé).

objection in the case of Rouen would have been withdrawn.[u] Equally unsuccessful were the pope's attempts on Lanfranc. Again and again invitations, becoming by degrees more urgent, required the archbishop to appear at Rome, where he had not been since Gregory's election. After a time the pope expresses a belief that he is influenced by fear of the king, but tells him that neither fear, nor love, nor the difficulties of the journey, ought to detain him.[x] Lanfranc, in his answer, showed no disposition to comply; and he alluded, with an indifference which must have been very annoying, to the failure of the pope's claim to fealty.[y] At length Gregory summoned the archbishop to set out for Rome within four months after receiving his citation, and to appear there on a certain day, under pain of deposition;[z] but the citation was as vain as those before it, and the threat was never followed up.[a]

Gregory again found himself obliged to remonstrate in the case of William's half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Odo, deluded (it is said) by the arts of soothsayers, who assured him that a person of his name was to be pope, sent large sums of money to Rome for the purpose of securing himself an interest there, and enlisted a considerable force with which he intended to make his way to Italy. But William, on discovering the project, arrested and imprisoned him; and, in answer to an objection as to the bishop's spiritual character, declared that he had proceeded against him, not as bishop, but as earl of Kent.[b] Gregory expostulated with the king, insisting on the immunities of the clergy, with the pretended

[u] Guitmund was made cardinal by Gregory himself. See p. 365, n. [1].

[x] Ep. vi. 30 (Mart. 25, 1079).

[y] Lanfr. Ep. 8.

[z] Ep. ix. 20 (Dec. 4, 1081).

[a] In one of his letters to Lanfranc, Gregory begs the archbishop to restrain the Scots (*i.e.* Irish), who were said to be in the habit of selling their wives; and the English too, if any of them did so. Append. Ep. 1.

[b] See Palgrave, iii. 546; Order. Vital. vii. 8 (t. iii. 189, seqq.). The Odo, or Otho, who became pope was

saying of St. Ambrose, that royalty is less comparable to the episcopal dignity than lead to gold,[c] and quoting the text—"He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye;"[d] but Odo remained in prison until his brother, when dying, reluctantly ordered his release;[e] and here, as in the other cases, conduct which would have drawn down the most awful thunders of Rome on the head of a weaker prince, was allowed to pass unpunished in the stern, able, powerful, and resolute master of England and Normandy.

In 1087 the Conqueror was succeeded by William Rufus. For a time the new king was kept within some degree of restraint by the influence of Lanfranc, who had been his tutor; but on the archbishop's death, in 1089, his evil dispositions were altogether uncontrolled. William, according to an ancient writer, "feared God but little, and men not at all."[f] His character was utterly profane; his coarse and reckless wit was directed not only against the superstitions of the age, or against the clergy, whom he despised and hated, but against religion itself.[g] The shameless debaucheries in which he indulged gave an example which his subjects were not slow to imitate.[h] The rapacity by which he endeavoured to supply his profuse expenditure[i] fell with especial weight on the property of the church. In former times the revenues of a vacant abbey had been committed to the bishop, and those of a vacant bishoprick to the archbishop, under whose superintendence they were applied to religious or

Urban II. Dr. Lappenberg thinks it probable that Gregory invited the bishop of Bayeux to aid him with an army against the emperor, and even flattered him with the hope of succeeding to the papacy, ii. 137.

[c] See above, p. 316.

[d] (Zach. ii. 8); Greg. Ep. xi. 2.

[e] Flor. Wigorn. ii. 20. Odo afterwards accompanied Robert of Normandy on the crusade, but died at Palermo on the outward journey. Palgrave, iv. 592.

[f] W. Malmesb. 495; see Rog. Wendover, ii. 160.

[g] See for instances, Eadmer, 52.

[h] Order. Vital. iv. 9; H. Huntingdon, l. vii., Patrol. cxcv. 934.

[i] For this, see Malmesbury, 496.

charitable uses;[k] under the Conqueror, they were administered by a clerk, who was accountable for his stewardship to the next incumbent.[l] But William's chosen adviser, a Norman ecclesiastic of low birth, named Ralph Passeflaber or Flambard,[m] devised the idea that, as bishopricks and abbacies were fiefs of the crown, the profits of them during vacancy belonged to the sovereign. Under this pretext William kept bishopricks long vacant; while the diocese was left without a pastor, he extorted all that was possible from the tenants of the see, by means alike oppressive to them and injurious to the future bishop;[n] and the most unblushing simony was practised in the disposal of ecclesiastical preferments.[o]

After the death of Lanfranc, the primacy remained vacant for nearly four years. In answer to entreaties that he would nominate a successor, William swore, as he was wont, "by the holy face of Lucca," that he would as yet have no archbishop but himself; and when public prayers were offered up for the direction of his choice, he said that the church might ask what it pleased, but that he was resolved to take his own way.[p] A severe illness,

[k] Orderic, iii. 313; Collier, ii. 66.

[l] W. Malmesb. 498; Lingard, i. 534.

[m] Order. Vital. iv. 54, 107-8. See Angl. Sac. i. 705-8, and Palgrave Norm. and Engl. iv. 51, seqq., as to Ralph. It has been questioned whether he was called Flambard (*firebrand*) on account of his character, since he figures under that name in Domesday Book (p. 51) as a possessor of land in Hampshire before the Conquest (Lappenb. ii. 167; Foss, 'Judges of England,' i. 63). But Anselm says, "Propter crudelitatem similem flammæ comburenti prænomine Flambardus" (Ep. iv. 2); and it would seem from Orderic (iii. 311) that the name was given to him as characteristic before he attained power. [Sir F. Palgrave says that it is given to him in Domesday "by prolepsis," p. 53.]

[n] Order. Vital. iii. 312; Flor. Wigorn. ii. 46; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1100.

[o] Eadmer, 34.

[p] Ib. 34-5. The "holy face of Lucca" was a figure of the Saviour in cedar wood, said to have been carved by St. Nicodemus, and still preserved in the cathedral. (Baron. 1099. 40-7; Gir. Cambr. iv. 279; Gresel. I. i. 87; Murray's Handbook of Central Italy, 19, ed. 1861. See vol. ii. p. 51). The legend of its history is given by Benvenuto of Imola, in his commentary on Dante, Inf. xxi. 43 (Murat. Antiq. i. 1085). Some writers (as Mr. Sharon Turner, 'Middle Ages,' i. 147) make William swear "by the face of *St. Luke*."

which followed soon after, was regarded as a judgment of heaven, and the king was earnestly urged to show his penitence by filling up the primacy, and by redressing the grievances of his government. He consented, promised amendment, and made choice of Anselm as archbishop.[q]

Anselm was born of an honourable family at Aosta, in 1033 or the following year.[r] His boyhood was devout, but was succeeded by a somewhat irregular youth, more especially after the death of his pious and gentle mother, to whom he had been deeply attached. The harshness with which his father treated him produced a resolution to leave his home; he crossed the Alps, and, after having, like Lanfranc, resided for some time at Avranches, he became, at the age of twenty-seven, a monk at Bec, where the founder, Herluin, was still abbot, while Lanfranc was prior and master of the school.[s] On the removal of Lanfranc to Caen in 1063, Anselm succeeded him in his offices, and at the death of Herluin, in 1078, he was elected to the abbacy. With each dignity which he attained, his anxious feeling of responsibility increased, and he would have returned to the condition of a simple monk, but for the authority of Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen.[t] His fame speedily even surpassed that of Lanfranc, and his name was widely spread by treatises on philosophical, theological, and grammatical subjects. Pupils flocked to his instructions; questions were addressed to him from all quarters, and his friend and

[q] Eadm. 35. Authorities used for Anselm:—Opera, ed. Gerberon, Paris, 1721; Eadmer, 'Vita Anselmi,' and 'Historia Novorum,' in Appendix to Anselm; Joh. Sarisb., Vita Anselmi, (Patrol. cxcix.); Möhler, 'Anselm v. Canterbury' (Aufsätze, i.); Dean Church's 'Essays and Reviews,' Lond. 1854 (including two papers on St. Anselm from the 'British Critic' of 1843); Hasse, 'Anselm v. Canterbury,' vol. i., transl. by Turner, Lond. 1850, vol. ii. Leipz. 1852; Ch. de Rémusat, "S. Anselme de Cantorbéry,' Paris, 1853. [I have elsewhere (Quart. Rev. July 1862, pp. 97-101) expressed my inability to agree in Dean Hook's view of Anselm.]

[r] Rémusat, 22.

[s] Eadm. 2-3.

[t] Ib. 5-9

biographer, Edmer, tells us that his answers were received as oracles from heaven.[u] Since the time of St. Augustine, the church had produced no teacher of equal eminence with Anselm, or so powerful in his influence on later ages. He has been described as the founder of natural theology;[x] but if this title is to be applied to him, the term must be understood as signifying a theology which aimed at bringing the aid of philosophical thought to the support of the most rigid orthodoxy of the church.[y] Whereas John Scotus had made philosophy his foundation, and had endeavoured to reduce religion into accordance with it, the method of Anselm was exactly the opposite; its character is expressed in the title originally given to his 'Proslogion'—'Faith in search of Understanding.'[z] The object of that work is to prove the existence and attributes of the Deity by a single argument. Edmer relates that, when the idea of such a proof had entered into Anselm's mind, he was unable to eat, drink, or sleep; it disturbed him at his devotions, and, although he endeavoured to resist it as a temptation of the devil, he could not rest until, in the watches of the night, a light broke in on him[a]—"God is that than which nothing greater can be conceived; and he who well understands this will understand that the Divine Being exists in such a manner that His non-existence cannot even be conceived."[b] A monk

[u] Eadm. 8; Möhler, 54.

[x] Schröckh, xxiv. 352-3.

[y] See Rémusat, 55-7, 478; Möhler, 346; Ampère, iii. 50-1; Hasse, ii. 50-1; Giesel. II. ii. 383-6; Milman, iii. 248-9; Ritter, vii. 325-9.

[z] 'Fides quærens intellectum' (Opera, 29; Rémusat, 459). "Sicut rectus ordo exigit ut profunda Christianæ fidei credamus, priusquam ea præsumamus ratione discutere, ita negligentia mihi videtur si, postquam confirmati sumus in fide, non studemus quod credimus intelligere" (Cur Deus Homo, i. 2). "Christianus per fidem debet ad intellectum proficere, non per intellectum ad fidem accedere, aut, si intelligere non valet, a fide recedere. Sed cum ad intellectum valet pertingere, delectatur; cum vero nequit, quod capere non potest, veneratur" (Ep. ii. 41). Cf. De Fide Trinitatis, 2, etc. [a] Eadm. 6.

[b] Proslogion, c. 4. The tablets on which he had sketched out his argument twice disappeared, having, it was supposed, been made away with by the devil. Joh. Sarisb 5.

named Gaunilo wrote a short tract in reply, objecting that the conception of a thing does not imply its existence, and exemplifying this by the fabulous island of Atlantis ;[c] to which Anselm rejoined that the illustration was inapplicable to the question, since existence is a part of the perfections which are conceived of as belonging to the Deity.[d]

The character of Anselm was amiable, gentle and modest. Simple and even severe, in his own habits, he was indulgent to others, and the confidence which he placed in those below him, with his indifference to the vulgar interests of the world, was often abused. Edmer draws a very pleasing picture of his familiar intercourse, and relates many stories which illustrate his wisdom, his kindly temper, his mild, yet keen and subtle humour.[e] In one of these stories, an abbot "who was accounted very religious" applies in despair for advice as to the treatment of the pupils in his monastery; he had flogged them indefatigably both by day and by night, but, instead of amending, they only grew worse. Anselm by degrees leads him to understand that so brutal a discipline could only be expected to brutalize its objects, and the abbot returns home to practise a gentler and a wiser system.[f] But as the exercise of Anselm's philosophical genius was subordinated to the strictest orthodoxy, so with his calm and peaceful nature he combined the most unbending resolution in the cause of the hierarchical system. To this he seems to have adhered, not from any feeling of interest or passion, or even of strong personal

[c] 'Liber pro Insipiente' (a title referring to Anselm's quotation of Ps. xiv. 1), in Anselm's works, 36.

[d] 'Liber Apologeticus contra Gaunilonem respondentem pro Insipiente,' ib. 37-40. See Hist. Litt. viii. 153; Hasse, ii. 241; Ritter, vii. 135-8; Archbishop Thomson's Bampton Lectures for 1853, pp. 5, 236. Anselm's argument did not find favour with the schoolmen in general, but has become famous in later times as revived, and perhaps independently (although this is not certain), by Des Cartes. Rémusat, 527-31; Neand. viii. 125-6.

[e] Eadm. 16-21.

[f] Ib. 8.

conviction, but because it was sanctioned by the church, while the scandalous abuses perpetrated by such sovereigns as William Rufus tended to blind him to the existence of dangers on the other side; and his assertion of it was marked by nothing of violence or assumption, but by an immoveable tenacity and perseverance.[g]

Anselm was already known and honoured in England, which he had visited for the purpose of superintending the English estates of his abbey. He had been acquainted with the Conqueror, who, in conversing with him, laid aside his wonted sternness;[h] and he had been the guest of Lanfranc, who had profited by his advice to deal tenderly with the peculiarities and prejudices of the people committed to his care.[i] It was with great reluctance that, during the vacancy of the archbishoprick, he yielded to the repeated invitations of Hugh Lupus, earl of Chester, who desired to see him in a sickness which was supposed to be mortal: for he knew that popular opinion had designated him as the successor of his old master; he was unwilling to exchange his monastery, with its quiet opportunities of study and thought, and his position of influence as a teacher, for the pomp and troubled dignity of the English primacy; and, honouring royalty, disliking contention, but firmly resolved to maintain the cause of the church, he shrank from the connexion with such a prince as William—a connexion which he compared to the yoking a young untamed bull with an old and feeble sheep.[k] He therefore endeavoured,

[g] Rémusat, 286; Martineau, 302.

[h] Eadm. 33.

[i] In particular, Lanfranc questioned the title of archbishop Alphege, murdered by the Danes in 1012 (Ang. Sax. Chron. in Ann.; Osbern. Vita Elph. in Patrol. cxlviii.), to the character of saint and martyr, in which the English regarded him, "although they do not deny that he was slain, not for the confession of Christ's name, but because he would not redeem himself with money." Anselm showed how, even without inquiring further into the history, the national reverence might be justified, and Lanfranc was convinced. Eadm. 10-11. See Guib Novig. in Patrol. clvi. 614.

[k] Eadmer, 36; Rémusat, 155-7.

with a sincerity which cannot reasonably be questioned, to decline the office; but he was carried into the sick king's chamber at Gloucester, the crosier was forced into his hands, and notwithstanding his struggles he was hurried away to a neighbouring church, where the people received him with acclamations as archbishop, and the clergy sang "Te Deum" for the election.[1] He did not, however, consider himself at liberty to accept the primacy until he had been released from his obligations to his monks, to the archbishop of Rouen, and to his sovereign, duke Robert of Normandy.[m]

The king recovered, and relapsed into courses even worse than before.[n] The works of amendment which he had begun were undone, and when Gundulf, bishop of Rochester, ventured gently to remind him of his late promises, he disavowed the obligation in a speech of outrageous profanity.[o] Anselm waited on him at Dover, and stated the terms on which only he would consent to be archbishop—that he should be allowed to enjoy all the rights of his see which Lanfranc had possessed, with such portions of its alienated property as he might be able to recover; that William should pay him the same regard in spiritual matters which the king claimed from the archbishop in temporal things; and that no offence should arise as to his acknowledgment of pope Urban, who had not yet been recognized in England. The answer was, that he should have all which Lanfranc had had, but that the other points must remain undecided for the present.[p] The archbishop was invested in September

[1] Anselm, Ep. iii. 1-2; Eadm. 13, 34-6.

[m] Ep. iii. 4, 10.

[n] Henr. Huntingd. l. vii. (Patrol. cxcv. 834).

[o] "Scias, O episcope, quod per sanctum vultum de Luca nunquam me Deus bonum habebit pro malo quod mihi intulerit." Eadm. 37.

[p] Id.; Anselm, Ep. iii. 24. For the trial on Penenden Heath between Lanfranc and Odo, who, as ear of Kent, had seized many manors belonging to the a chbishoprick, see Ernulf, in Patrol. clxiii. 1449, seqq.

1093, but his consecration did not take place until the 4th of December. At this ceremony the archbishop of York, who took the chief part in it, objected to the title of "metropolitan of all England," on the ground that it implied a denial of the metropolitan dignity of his own see. The objection was allowed, and the title of primate was substituted.[q]

The first entrance of Anselm into his city had been disturbed by the appearance of Flambard, who in the king's name instituted against him a suit of which the subject is not recorded;[r] and other events soon occurred to justify the apprehensions with which he had undertaken his office. William was busy in raising subsidies for an intended expedition into Normandy, and the archbishop, after his consecration, was advised by his friends to send him a contribution of five hundred pounds, in the hope that it might render the king favourable to the church. William was at first pleased with the gift, but some of his advisers persuaded him that it was too little—that the archbishop, in consideration of his promotion, ought to have given twice or four times as much. Anselm replied that he could not raise more without distressing his tenants; that it should not be his last gift; that a little freely given was better than a larger sum extorted: and, as William persevered in refusing the money, he bestowed it on the poor for the benefit of the king's soul, comforting himself with the thought that he could not be charged with even the appearance of simony.[s] The king was deeply offended. He evaded the fulfilment of his pro-

[q] Eadm. 13, 37; R. de Diceto, 491; Wendov. ii. 44. But Stubbs, the chronicler of York (Twysd. 1707), says that *primate* was the original word, and *metropolitan* the substitute; and in this evidently wrong statement he is followed by Mr. Raine, i. 153.

[r] Eadm. 37.

[s] Ep. iii. 24; Eadm. 13, 38. Dr. Lingard observes (i. 539) that the money was probably borrowed, as the tenants of the see had been so drained by the royal exactions during the vacancy that for three years Anselm was obliged to anticipate his income. Eadm. 85.

mise as to the restoration of the archbishop's estates.[t] He refused him leave to hold a council for the suppression of disorders among the clergy and monks, and for the general reformation of morals; and when Anselm urged the necessity of filling up the vacant abbacies, he asked, "What is that to you?—are not the abbeys mine?" "They are yours," replied the primate, "to defend and protect as advocate, but they are not yours to invade and to devastate."[u] The knowledge of the royal disfavour naturally raised up or encouraged a host of lesser enemies, who industriously persecuted Anselm by their encroachments on his property and by other annoyances.[x] The bishops advised him to propitiate William by a new offering of five hundred pounds; but he declared that he would not oppress his exhausted tenants, and that such a proceeding would be alike unworthy of the king and of himself.[y]

Notwithstanding all discouragements, the archbishop set vigorously about the work of reform. In the beginning of Lent, when the court was at Hastings, he refused to give the customary ashes and benediction to the young nobles who affected an effeminate style of dress and manners—wearing long hair, which they curled and adorned like women. It is not to be supposed that he regarded for their own sake these follies, or the fashionable shoes in which the invention of Fulk of Anjou[z] had been developed by one of William's courtiers, who twisted their long points into the likeness of a ram's horn.[a] But he dreaded the tendency of such fashions to extinguish a high and active spirit, and he denounced

[t] Ep. iii. 24.

[u] Eadm. 39. Matthew Paris says that William preyed on monasteries "non recolens scriptum, Omnia s principis tuitione non depopulatione." (Hist. Angl. i. 35.) This seems to refer to a principle of the civil law. See Corp. Jur. Civ. t. vi., Genev. 1625, Index, s. v. *Principis*.

[x] Eadm. 17.

Id. 39.

[z] See p. 384.

[a] Order. Vital. iii. 323, who styles the master of this fashion "nebulo."

them from a knowledge that they were connected with habits of luxury and gaming, and with the unnatural vices which had become rife in England since the conquest.[b]

Since the death of Gregory VII. neither of the rival popes had been acknowledged in England.[c] The king had come to regard it as a special prerogative of his crown, distinguishing him from other sovereigns, that within his dominions no pope should be recognized except by his permission; and this opinion had been encouraged by courtly prelates.[d] The right of Urban had, however, been admitted in Normandy, and Anselm, as we have seen, had stipulated that he should be allowed to adhere to the profession which, as abbot of Bec, he had made to that pontiff. He now, on William's return from the Norman expedition, requested leave to go to Rome, and to receive his pall from the pope. "From which pope?" asked the king; and, on Anselm's replying "From Urban," he angrily declared that neither his father nor himself had ever allowed any one to be styled pope in England without their special warrant; as well might the archbishop attempt to deprive him of his crown.

[b] Order. Vital. iii. 323-5; W. Malmesb. 498; Eadm. 39; Lingard, ii. 6. Fashion was, however, too strong. Orderic gives an invective against long hair, beards, and "scorpion" shoes, pronounced before Henry I., in 1005, by Serlo, bishop of Séez. The king, who had then particular reasons for conciliating the Norman clergy, submitted, and the bishop, drawing out a pair of scissors, clipped him and his courtiers on the spot. But Edmer, at a later time, tells us that any one who did not wear long hair was taken for a rustic (*i.e.* a serf) or a monk (84), and, as the notes on the passage of Orderic (iv. 207 10) show, the fashions long survived. See too Will. Malmesb. 694, and note; Brial, Pref. to Recueil des Hist. xvi. 20-4. A writer of date about 1182 complains both as to peaked boots and as to long hair; the very rustics, he says, instead of shaven hair and long beards, wear long hair and shave their beards. (Godefr. Vosiensis, in Rec. des Hist. xii. 450.) Matthew Paris says that the English, having been accustomed to let their beards grow "after the fashion of the Trojans and other eastern people," took to shaving them in imitation of the Normans. Hist. Angl. i. 11.

[c] Anselm, Ep. iii. 37; Sym. Dunelm. A.D. 1091.

[d] See the bishop of Durham's speech at Rockingham, in Eadm. 41.

Anselm on this desired that the question whether his duty to the pope were inconsistent with his duty to the king might be discussed at a council; and an assembly of bishops and nobles met for the purpose at Rockingham, in March 1095.[e]

The archbishop took his stand on the principle that God ought to be obeyed rather than man. Two only of his own order, the bishops of Rochester[f] and Chichester, supported him. William of St. Calais,[g] bishop of Durham, and Herbert of Norwich, who from his character was styled the Flatterer,[h] were vehement in their opposition; while the rest, accustomed as they had been to the Conqueror's ecclesiastical supremacy, and perplexed by the discord between powers which had until then acted in concert, behaved with timidity and indecision.[i] The king maintained that it was an invasion of his rights for a subject to look to any other authority, even in spiritual things. The bishops advised the archbishop to make full

[e] Eadm. 17, 40.

[f] Gundulf, formerly a monk of Bec, was an old and intimate friend of Anselm, many of whose letters are addressed to him. Vita Gund. in Patrol. clix. 817.

[g] "De Sancto Carilefo"—the monastery of St. Calais in Normandy. Symeon of Durham gives a high character of this prelate. Hist. Dunelm. iv. 1, 5, cols. 49, 52, ap. Twysden.

[h] This is the interpretation put by the chroniclers on his name *Losinga* (Ital. *lusingare*, to flatter; *losingerie* =flattery, in Piers Plowman, v. 4082, ed. Wright). But the name was not peculiar to him. William of Malmesbury gives some verses from which it would seem that Herbert derived it from his father ("Surgit in ecclesia monstrum genitore Losinga," § 338), and Robert, bishop of Hereford, in 1079, is also called Losinga. Sir F. Palgrave supposes it a family name (Norm and Eng. iv. 142). Herbert, a native of the "Pagus Oximensis" in Normandy, had obtained the bishoprick of Thetford by simony, but afterwards went to Rome, resigned it, and received a new appointment from the pope. On his return he removed the see to Norwich (A.D. 1094), where he founded the cathedral, and expended much wealth in other acts of munificence. (Flor. Wigorn. ii. 33; Foss, 'Judges of England,' i. 127-8; Palgrave, iv. 142-5.) William of Malmesbury, indeed, speaks of church-building and such works as the means by which bishops who were not in other respects blameless endeavoured to cover their defects (679). Yet Herbert seems to have really become a better man, and is highly praised by Bartholomew de Cotton (Angl. Sac. i. 407). Some of his letters have been published by Col. R. Anstruther, Brussels, 1847.

[i] Eadm. 41; Church, 153; Rémusat 198.

submission; but, when William asked them to disown him, they answered that they could not venture on such a step against the primate, not only of England, but of Scotland, Ireland, and the adjacent islands. Anselm, who throughout retained his composure, and at one time even fell asleep while the bishops had withdrawn for a consultation, professed his readiness to answer for his conduct in the proper place; and his enemies were alarmed at the words, which they rightly understood to imply that, as metropolitan, he was amenable to the pope's jurisdiction only. The bishop of Durham, after having in vain attempted to influence Anselm, told the king that, as the archbishop had Scripture and the canons in his favour, the only way to deal with him was by force—that he should be stripped of the ensigns of his dignity, and should be banished from the realm.[k] On being again asked by William whether they renounced the archbishop, some of the prelates replied that they did so absolutely; others, that they renounced him in so far as he pretended to act by Urban's authority. The king was indignant at the qualified answer, and those who had made it were afterwards obliged to pay heavily for the recovery of his favour.[l] The nobles behaved with greater spirit than the bishops, declaring that, although they had not taken any oath to the primate, they could not disown him, especially as he had committed no offence; while the people, who surrounded the place of meeting, were zealous in his cause, and loudly exclaimed against his cowardly brethren as Judases, Pilates, and Herods.[m] At length it was resolved that there should be a truce until the octave of Whitsunday. Anselm was ordered in the meantime to confine himself to his diocese; but the truce was broken on the king's side by the pillage of the arch-

[k] Eadm. 17, 42.
[l] Id. 43.
[m] Id. 42.

bishop's estates, by attacks on his train, and by the banishment of some of his confidential friends.[n]

William took advantage of the interval to send two ecclesiastics to Rome, with instructions to inquire into the claims of the rival popes, to make terms with the claimant whom they should find to be legitimate, and to obtain from him a pall for the archbishop of Canterbury, without naming Anselm, for whom the king hoped by this means to substitute another. The decision of the envoys was in favour of Urban, from whom a pall was brought to England by Walter, bishop of Albano. The king agreed to acknowledge Urban; but when he asked the legate to depose Anselm, he was told that it was impossible. The archbishop was summoned to court, and was desired to receive the pall from William's own hands. He replied that it was not for any secular person to give the pall; and, as he persevered in his refusal, June 10. it was agreed that the pall should be laid by the legate on the high altar at Canterbury, and that the archbishop should take it thence, as from the hand of St. Peter.[o]

Robert of Normandy was now about to set out for the crusade, and had agreed to pledge the duchy to his brother in consideration of a sum of money for the expenses of his expedition.[p] In order to make up this payment, William had recourse to severe exactions. He seized the plate of monasteries; and when the monks remonstrated, he met them in his usual style by asking—"Have ye not shrines of gold and silver for dead men's

[n] Eadm. 43; Collier, ii. 77; Lappenb. ii. 193.

[o] Eadm. 44-5. Hugh of Flavigny says, "Adeo auctoritas Romana apud Anglos avaritia et cupiditate legatorum viluerat, ut eodem Albanense præsente et consentiente, nec contradicente, immo præcipiente, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus fidelitatem P. Petro et papæ juraverit salva fidelitate domini sui regis," etc. (A.D. 1096, Patrol. cliv. 353). The legate carried back with him the first Peter-pence that had been paid from England for many years. Ang.-Sax. Chron. A.D. 1095, p. 200.

[p] Guil. Gemet. viii 7 (Patrol. cxlix.)

bones?"[q] Anselm contributed liberally; but he was soon after required to answer in the king's court for having failed in the proper equipment of some soldiers whom he had supplied for an expedition against the Welsh.[r] In this summons the archbishop saw a design to bring him under feudal subjection, and he knew that he could not look for justice, while the hopelessness of any satisfactory relations with such a prince as William became continually more and more evident. He therefore resolved to lay his case before the pope, and requested leave to go to Rome that he might represent the state of the English church. William met the application by telling him that he had no need to make such a journey, since he had done nothing to require absolution, and, as for advice, he was fitter to give it to the pope than the pope to him.[s] The suit was thrice urged in vain. Anselm declared that he must obey God rather than man; and that, even if leave were refused, he must go to Rome. The bishops whom he requested to support him, told him that they reverenced his piety and heavenly conversation, but that it was too far above them; that, if he would descend to their level, they would gladly give him their assistance; but that otherwise they must decline to do anything inconsistent with their duty to the king.[t] William required him either to renounce his design, and swear that he would never apply to St. Peter, or to quit the kingdom for ever, but finally, at Winchester, yielded an ungracious consent. The archbishop offered to give him his blessing unless it were refused; and, on William's replying that he did not refuse it, they parted with a solemn benediction.[u]

Oct. 15, 1097.

[q] W. Malmesb. 301.
[r] Eadm. 17, 46.
[s] Ep. iii. 11; Eadm. 17, 47; Rému sat, 226.
[t] Eadm. 47.
[u] Id. 18, 48.

At Canterbury the archbishop took from the altar the staff and the dress of a pilgrim. When about to embark at Dover, he was subjected to the indignity of having his baggage publicly searched by William of Warelwast, one of the king's chaplains, in the vain hope of finding treasures; and after his departure his archiepiscopal acts were annulled, the property of his see was confiscated, and his tenants were oppressed by the king's officers more mercilessly than ever.[x]

Anselm had been forbidden to take his way through Normandy.[y] The earlier part of his journey was a triumphant progress; the latter part was, from the fear of antipapalists and of robbers, performed in the garb of a simple monk, undistinguished by appearance from his companions, Baldwin and the biographer Edmer, precentor of Canterbury, whom in one of his epistles he describes as "the staff of his old age."[z] On arriving at Rome, he was received with extraordinary distinction by Urban, who declared that he ought to be treated as an equal—as "pope and patriarch of another world"—and wrote to the king of England, desiring that the archiepiscopal property should be released from confiscation.[a] After a stay of ten days in the city, Anselm withdrew to a monastery near Telese, in compliance with an invitation from the abbot, who was a Norman and had formerly been his pupil. In order that he might escape the extreme heat of summer, his host conveyed him to a retreat among the neighbouring hills; and here he finished a treatise which he had begun in England, on the purpose of the Saviour's incarnation[b]—a treatise of which the doctrine has become a standard of orthodoxy

[x] Eadm. 19, 48-9.
[y] Order. Vital. iv. 55.
[z] Ep. iii. 25; Eadm. 19, 20, 49.
[a] Id. 20, 50. The archbishop's place was said to be next after the cardinal-bishop of St. Rufina (Goscelin, Transl. S. Aug. ii. 3, Patrol. clv.).
[b] Eadm. 20; Anselm, Preface to 'Cur Deus Homo.'

even in communions where the obligation to Anselm is little suspected. In the opening of it, he states that the subject was engaging the attention not only of the learned, but of many uneducated Christians. He shows the necessity of a satisfaction for sin in order that man might become capable of that blessedness for which he was originally created; the impossibility that this satisfaction should be rendered except by God, while yet it must be made by man, from whom it was due;[c] and the consequent necessity that the Mediator, who was to effect the reconciliation by his voluntary death, should at once be perfect God and perfect man.[d]

Anselm in his retreat was regarded with veneration by all who saw him—even by the Saracens of the Apulian army. He thought of resigning his dignities, and of devoting himself to labour in this new sphere; but the pope rejected the proposal, and required him to attend a council which was to be held at Bari, before the body of St. Nicolas, with a view to the reconciliation of the Greek and Latin churches.[e] At this assembly, when the question of the procession of the Holy Ghost was proposed, Urban, after arguing from one of Anselm's treatises, desired the archbishop himself to stand forward, and pronounced a high eulogium on his character and sufferings. Anselm was ready to discuss the subject, but was requested to defer his argument until the follow-

Oct. 1098.

[c] L. ii. 6.

[d] ii. 7-11; see Petav. de Incarn. ii. 13; Abp. Thomson's Bampton Lectures, VI.; Giesel. vi. 386; Neand. Ch. Hist. viii. 284-5; Hist. of Dogmas, 515. The argument is partly grounded (i. 16-18) on an idea set forth by St. Augustine (Enchiridion, i. 29; De Civ. Dei, XXII. i. 2), that men were required to fill up the places of the fallen angels in heaven. Hasse cites Boëthius, Scotus Erigena, and others, to the same effect (ii. 16). Lau ('Gregor. d. Grosse,' 362, 412) refers for the opinion to Greg. Moral. xxx. 49—a chapter which does not exist; but there is something like it in xxv. 20. Gregory, as reported by Lau, maintains that the number of the elect will be the same as that of the lost angels; but Anselm (i. 18) holds that it will be greater.

[e] Eadm. 21, 52-3. The only records of this council are in the English writers. Hard. vi. 1753.

ing day, when he spoke with a clearness and an eloquence which won universal admiration.[f] The pope then entered on the grievances of the English church; the council was unanimous for the excommunication of William; and, Urban, inspirited by his success in the great movement of the crusade, was about to pronounce the sentence, when Anselm, throwing himself at his feet, entreated him to forbear, and gained fresh admiration by this display of mildness towards his oppressor.[g]

The archbishop accompanied Urban to Rome, where he was treated with a reverence second only to the pope, while the people, impressed by his demeanour, spoke of him not as "the man" or "the archbishop," but as "the *holy* man."[h] About Christmas envoys from England appeared—William of Warelwast being one. The pope told them that their master must restore everything to the archbishop on pain of excommunication; but in private interviews they were able, by means of large presents, to obtain a truce until Michaelmas.[i] At the synod of the following Lent, the decrees against investitures and homage were renewed, and were received with general acclamation.[k] Reginger, bishop of Lucca, introduced the subject of Anselm's wrongs in an indignant speech, to which he added emphasis by striking the floor with his pastoral staff; and it was with difficulty that the pope prevailed on him to desist, while Anselm, to whom the mention of his case was unexpected, took no part in the scene.[l] It was, however, now evident to him that he could not expect any strenuous assistance from Urban, and he withdrew to Lyons, where for a year and a half he was entertained with the greatest honour by archbishop Hugh.[m] During

[f] Eadm. 53. His arguments were afterwards embodied in a book, at the request of Hildebert of Le Mans. Hildeb. Epp. ii. 9, 13 (Patrol. clxxi.).

[g] Eadm. 53.

[h] Id. 21.

[i] Id. 54.

[k] "Fiat! fiat!" Id. 55; Rog. Hoveden, 268.

[l] Eadm. 55.

[m] Ep. iv. 117. Matthew Paris, who places Anselm's first exile too early

this residence at Lyons he was informed of the pope's death, in July 1099, and of William's mysterious and awful end, in August 1100.[n]

Henry I., at his coronation, promised to redress the grievances in the church and in the civil administration from which his subjects had suffered during the late reign. Sept. 1100. Flambard, who had succeeded William of St. Calais as bishop of Durham, was committed to the Tower.[o] The king resolved to fill up the vacant bishopricks and abbeys; he urgently invited Anselm to return,[p] and, on his arrival, apologized for having been crowned in the primate's absence.[q] But a subject of difference soon arose.

The custom of investiture and homage, which were regarded as inseparable, was so firmly settled in England, that Anselm, notwithstanding his lofty ecclesiastical principles, had without scruple submitted to it at his elevation to the primacy.[r] But when he was now required to repeat his engagements, in acknowledgment of the new sovereign, he answered that it was forbidden by the Roman council which he had lately attended. He declared that, although the objection to the ceremony was not his own, he held himself bound to maintain the council's decrees, and that, if the king would not admit

(Hist. Angl. i. 52), says that he came over privately to remonstrate with William on the oppression of the church, and that, while living concealed in London, he consecrated Samson as bishop of Worcester (ib. 97). But that consecration (June 15, 1096) was really before Anselm went abroad. See Godwin, 456.

[n] Eadm. 22, 55-6. John of Peterborough relates that Anselm, on visiting Hugh of Cluny, was told by him "Rex ille proxima nocte ante Deum ductus et adjudicatus tristem damnationis sententiam accepit." (Sparke, 57). According to another account, he was informed of William's death by a vision in the night. Matth. Paris, Hist. Angl. i. 53.

[o] Ang.-Sax. Chron. 1100-1: Foss, i. 65. He made his escape, and eventually recovered his see. For some remarkable practices of Flambard as to the bishoprick of Lisieux, see Ivo Carnot. Epp. 149, 153-4, 157 (Patrol. clxii.); cf. Sym. Dunelm. Continuat. col. 61.

[p] Anselm, Ep. iii. 41.

[q] Eadm. 57. See Raine i 133.

[r] Lappenberg, ii. 249.

them, he could not communicate with him or remain in England. He suggested, however, that Henry might ask the pope to dispense with the enforcement of them in his dominions.[s] A truce until Easter was agreed on, and, soon after it had expired, the king received an answer to a letter which he had written to the pope. In this answer Paschal dwelt on the distinction between ecclesiastical and secular power, but without touching the question whether investiture and homage were really an invasion of the church's spiritual rights.[t]

The king found it necessary to temporise. He feared the influence of his brother Robert, who had returned from the east, adding to the charm of his popular manners the fame of a brave warrior who had borne a conspicuous share in the delivery of the holy sepulchre from the infidels. Henry, therefore, could not afford to alienate the clergy, while he was unwilling to give up so important a part of his prerogative as that which was now assailed.[u] The nobles in general were opposed to the ecclesiastical claim, and the bishops joined them in declaring that, rather than yield the national rights, they would expel the primate from the realm, and renounce their connexion with Rome.[x] Gerard, archbishop of York, Herbert of Norwich, and Robert of Coventry, were sent to Rome on the part of the king; Baldwin and another monk on that of Anselm. The bishops were charged with a letter, in which Henry, while professing his desire to respect the pope as his predecessors had done, declared himself resolved to uphold the rights of his crown; if, he said, he were to abase himself by suffering them to be diminished, neither his nobles nor his people would endure it; and

[s] Ep. iii. 100; Eadm. 57.
[t] Eadmer gives it, p. 59.
[u] Id. 57.
[x] Anselm. ad Paschalem, Ep. iv. 4. Martene (Thesaur. i. 273) has exposed Wharton's mistake in publishing this letter (Ang. Sac. ii. 178) as if it were not in Gerberon's edition. Cf. Epp iii. 37; iv. 2, 6.

he desired Paschal to choose between a relaxation of the decrees and a loss of England from his obedience.[y]

In answer to the solicitations of the bishops, the pope declared that, even to save his life, he would not recede from the decrees; he wrote to the king that his treatment of the church was as if an unnatural son should reduce his mother to bondage; and he addressed to Anselm a letter of commendation and encouragement.[z] The bishops, however, who brought back the letter for Henry, professed to have been verbally assured by the pope that, if the king would in other respects discharge his duties well, he should not be troubled on the subject of investiture. The archbishop's envoys said that they had received no such communication: but the bishops rejoined that it had been made in secret; that the pope would not commit it to writing, lest it should come to the knowledge of other princes, who might thereupon claim a like allowance. A vehement dispute followed. Baldwin indignantly insisted that he and his companion ought to be believed, supported as they were by the pope's letters. It was replied that the word of an archbishop and two bishops ought to outweigh that of two monklings,[a] who by their very profession were disqualified for bearing witness in secular courts; that it was far superior to sheepskins bescribbled with ink, and with a lump of lead appended to them: to which Baldwin rejoined that the question was not secular but spiritual.[b] A fresh reference was made to Rome, for the

April 1102.

[y] The letter is given by Bromton, Ann. 1103, ap. Twysden, 499.

[z] Eadm. 61. Hume, after a fruitless search for the text, "I have said ye are gods," which Paschal quotes in one of his letters, supposes it to be probably "a forgery of his Holiness" (!). i. 7.1

[a] "Monachelli." Baldwin had formerly been advocate of the church of Tournay. Herm. Tornac. de Restaur. S. Martini Tornac. 13 (Patrol. clxxx.).

[b] Eadm. 62. Dr. Lappenberg seems to think the pope had acted with duplicity (ii. 250-1). Dean Church acquits him (208). Professor Hasse (Transl. 155) thinks that the bishops had misunderstood him; M. de Rému-

purpose of ascertaining the pope's real sentiments,[c] and in the meantime Anselm agreed that he would not suspend communion with the king, or with those who were invested by him. But he refused to consecrate some clergy of the court who were nominated to bishopricks; and, although the archbishop of York was willing to take the chief part in the rite, two of the nominees declined to receive consecration on such terms.[d]

At Michaelmas 1102, a council was held at London, and, by Anselm's desire, it was attended by the nobles of the realm, in order to add force to its decisions. A number of abbots were deprived for simony or other irregularities; the obligation of celibacy was now for the first time extended to the parochial clergy of England;[e] and the other canons bear sad evidence to the condition into which religion, discipline, and morality had sunk under the misgovernment of William Rufus.[f] The enforcement of celibacy met with strong opposition, especially in the province of York, where many of the priests preferred the alternative of shutting their church-doors, and giving up the performance of all Divine service.[g]

The king and the archbishop received answers from the pope; but Henry refused to make known the contents of that which was addressed to him, and Anselm refrained for a time from opening the other, lest it should involve him in fresh difficulties. The king made an opportunity of visiting him at Canterbury, and proposed that the archbishop should himself go to A.D. 1103.

sat, that in conversation he had spoken in a conciliatory tone, supposing that the parties would come to an agreement. 302.

[c] Anselm, Ep. iii. 73.

[d] Eadm. 63-4.

[e] "Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum. Ne, dum munditias viribus majores appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus incideremt." Henr. Huntingd. l. vii., Patrol. cxcv. 244. The words are repeated by Rob. de Monte, A.D. 1102 (ib. clx., or Pertz, vi.).

[f] Eadm. 63; Wilkins, i. 382.

[g] Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1102. Twysden, 228.

Rome with a view of obtaining a relaxation of the decrees. Anselm replied that, although old and infirm, he was willing to undertake the journey, but that he would not do anything to the injury of the church, or to his own discredit; whereupon he was assured that he would only be expected to confirm the evidence of the king's own envoys as to the state of English affairs.[h]

The archbishop set out, and, on arriving at Bec, opened the pope's letter, by which he found that Paschal solemnly disavowed the words imputed to him by Henry's late envoys, and placed the three prelates under censure until they should make satisfaction.[i] After a journey in which honours everywhere waited on him, he reached Rome, where about the same time William of Warelwast arrived as representative of the king. At an audience of the pope, the envoy declared that his master would rather lose his crown than abandon the right of investiture. Paschal replied that he himself would die rather than yield up his claim; but, by way of conciliation, he confirmed in some other points the usages which had been introduced by William the Conqueror. Anselm soon discovered that his opponents were employing the pecuniary arguments which were generally successful at Rome; and, after having received the papal blessing, with a vague confirmation of the privileges of his see, he again withdrew to the hospitality of Hugh of Lyons, who, since his former visit, had performed the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[k] On the way he was overtaken by William of Warelwast, who travelled for some time in his company, and at parting told him that the king would gladly see him back, if the archbishop would do as his predecessors had done to the crown. Anselm considered this as forbidding his return, unless he would agree to terms which

[h] Eadm. 65.
[i] Anselm, Ep. iii. 74; Eadm. 65.
[k] Id. 66-7; Rémusat, 336.

the late Roman canons had rendered impossible; and he wrote from Lyons to warn the king that on him must be the guilt of any mischiefs which might follow.[1]

Henry committed the property of the archbishoprick to the care of two of Anselm's retainers, who, as would appear from a hint of Edmer, did not exercise their stewardship very faithfully.[m] He repeatedly desired the primate to return, but without offering any mitigation of his conditions;[n] while Anselm, in answer to letters from some of the clergy, who urged him to redress the disorders of the church, steadily declared that he could not return unless the king would make concessions.[o] The archbishop attempted by frequent messages to urge the pope to a more decided course; but although he prevailed on Paschal to excommunicate the Norman counsellors who had maintained the principle of investiture, and the ecclesiastics who accepted it, no sentence was uttered against the king himself.[p] At length Anselm resolved to take further steps on his own responsibility. In the spring of 1105, he visited Henry's sister, the countess of Blois, and told her that he was about to excommunicate the king. The countess was greatly alarmed by this information, as such a sentence might have dangerous effects at a time when Henry was at war with his brother Robert, and when his subjects were discontented on account of its cost. She therefore earnestly endeavoured to mediate between the king and the archbishop, and succeeded in bringing them to a conference at the castle

[1] Ep. iii. 88; iv. 46; Eadm. 68.

[m] Id. 69.

[n] *E.g.*, Ep. iii. 94, and the answer, 96; Eadm. 70.

[o] Ep. iii. 90; Eadm. 69. Dr. Lappenberg censures Anselm for remaining in learned ease at Lyons, and throwing on Henry the blame of forbidding his return (ii. 254). But it appears that the king justified the speech of William of Warelwast, and the interpretation which the archbishop put on it, although the prohibition was not generally known in England. Eadm. 69, 71; Inett, ii. 114; Rémusat, 337.

[p] Eadm. 70.

of L'Aigle in Normandy, on the eve of St. Mary Magdalen (July 21).[q] But although at this meeting Henry professed himself willing to give up the revenues of Canterbury, the question of homage and investiture was still a bar to reconciliation; and again a reference to Rome was necessary.[r]

Many of the English clergy had taken advantage of the primate's absence to defy the late canons as to celibacy, and Henry conceived the idea of turning their irregularities to profit by imposing a fine on them. As, however, the produce of this measure fell short of his expectations and of his necessities, he proceeded to levy a fine on every parish-church, holding the incumbents answerable for the payment. It was in vain that two hundred of the clergy, arrayed in their robes of ministration, waited on him with a petition for relief; and Anselm found himself obliged to address to the king a remonstrance against his usurpation of ecclesiastical discipline.[s] The primate received fresh letters, detailing the increased confusion which prevailed among his flock, and earnestly entreating him to return. Gerard of York, and other prelates who had formerly been his opponents, now wrote to acknowledge their error, and declared themselves ready not only to follow but to go before him in the endeavour to heal the wounds of the church.[t]

At length William of Warelwast and Baldwin, who had been sent to Rome as representatives of the king and of the archbishop respectively, returned with the proposal of a compromise—that the king should forego investiture, but that, until he should come to a better mind, bishops and abbots should be permitted to do homage, while those who had been invested by him were to be admitted to communion on such terms as the two envoys should agree

[q] Ep iii. 110; Eadm. 71.
[r] Ep. iii. 110; iv. 73.
[s] Ib. iii. 109; Eadm. 71-3.
[t] Ep. iii. 121; Eadm. 71-3.

on.[u] These conditions were ratified at Bec on the 25th of August 1106, when the king promised to restore to Anselm the profits of the see during his absence, to abstain from the revenues of vacant bishopricks and abbeys, and to remit all fines to the clergy.[x] The victory over Robert at Tenchebray, on the 28th of September, was regarded by many as a blessing on the peace which had been concluded with the church.[y]

Anselm was received in England with enthusiasm. The queen, "Maud the Good," who had always regarded him with the highest reverence and had corresponded with him in his exile, went before him from stage to stage, to direct the preparations for his entertainment.[z] He soon after joined with the archbishop of York in consecrating five bishops, among whom were his old antagonist William of Warelwast and the two who had refused to be consecrated in the primate's absence.[a]

A council was held at Westminster in 1107, when the king formally relinquished the privilege of investiture, and the archbishop promised to tolerate the ceremony of homage, notwithstanding the condemnation which Urban had pronounced against it.[b] The king had conceded, and Anselm was congratulated by his correspondents as victorious; yet in truth Henry, by giving up an indifferent formality, was able to retain the old relations of the crown with the hierarchy, and even the nomination of bishops.[c] At this council, and at one held in the follow-

[u] Ep. iii. 114; Eadm. 74.
[x] Id. 75. [y] Id. 76.
[z] Id. See for this queen's character, W. Malmesb. 650-1.
[a] Sym. Dunelm. Ann. 1107.
[b] Eadm. 76; Wilkins, iii. 386-7.
[c] Planck, IV. ii. 23; Lingard, ii. 17-18; Phillips, i. 129; Rémusat, 367-70. Anselm soon after wrote to the pope—"Rex ipse in personis eligendis nullatenus propriâ utitur voluntate, sed religiosorum se penitus committit consilio." Hence Inett (ii. 122), Dean Church (220-1), and Mr. Martineau (309), suppose that the king virtually gave up his patronage. But the meaning seems merely to be that he took advice as to the fitness of his nominees. (See Hasse, Transl. 194.) Malmesbury's account of the accommodation is — "Rex investituram annuli et baculi indulsit in perpetuum;

ing year, the canons against the marriage of ecclesiastics were renewed with great strictness; but the pope consented for a time that the sons of clergymen might be admitted to orders, on the remarkable ground that "almost the greater and the better part of the English clergy" were derived from this class.[d]

During the short remainder of his life, Anselm enjoyed the friendship and respect of Henry. Notwithstanding his growing infirmity, he continued to write on theological and philosophical subjects; on his death-bed he expressed a wish that he might be permitted to live until he had solved a question as to the origin of the soul—because he feared that no other person would be able to give a right solution. After his death, which took place in April 1109,[e] the primacy was allowed to remain vacant until 1114, when it was conferred on Ralph, bishop of Rochester, who had administered its affairs during the interval.[f]

retento tantum (*al.* tamen) electionis et regalium privilegio." P. 50.

[d] Eadm. 76.

[e] Id. 25-6. John of Salisbury reports a saying which shows that Anselm was not disposed to make too much of what he had suffered from William Rufus and Henry—"Perpetua laude illustrium doctorum doctor Anselmus, ut a suis accepi, licere consuevit, se nihil magis habere suspectum quam quod eum Deus in tota vita nulla corripuerat adversitate." Opera, ii. 54, ed. Giles.

[f] Eadm. 86; W. Malmesb. G. P. 1506. An enthusiastic description of the prosperity of the English clergy and monks about this time is given by Baldric of Dol, in his 'Itinerarium' (Patrol. clxvi. 1173).

END OF VOL. IV.

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